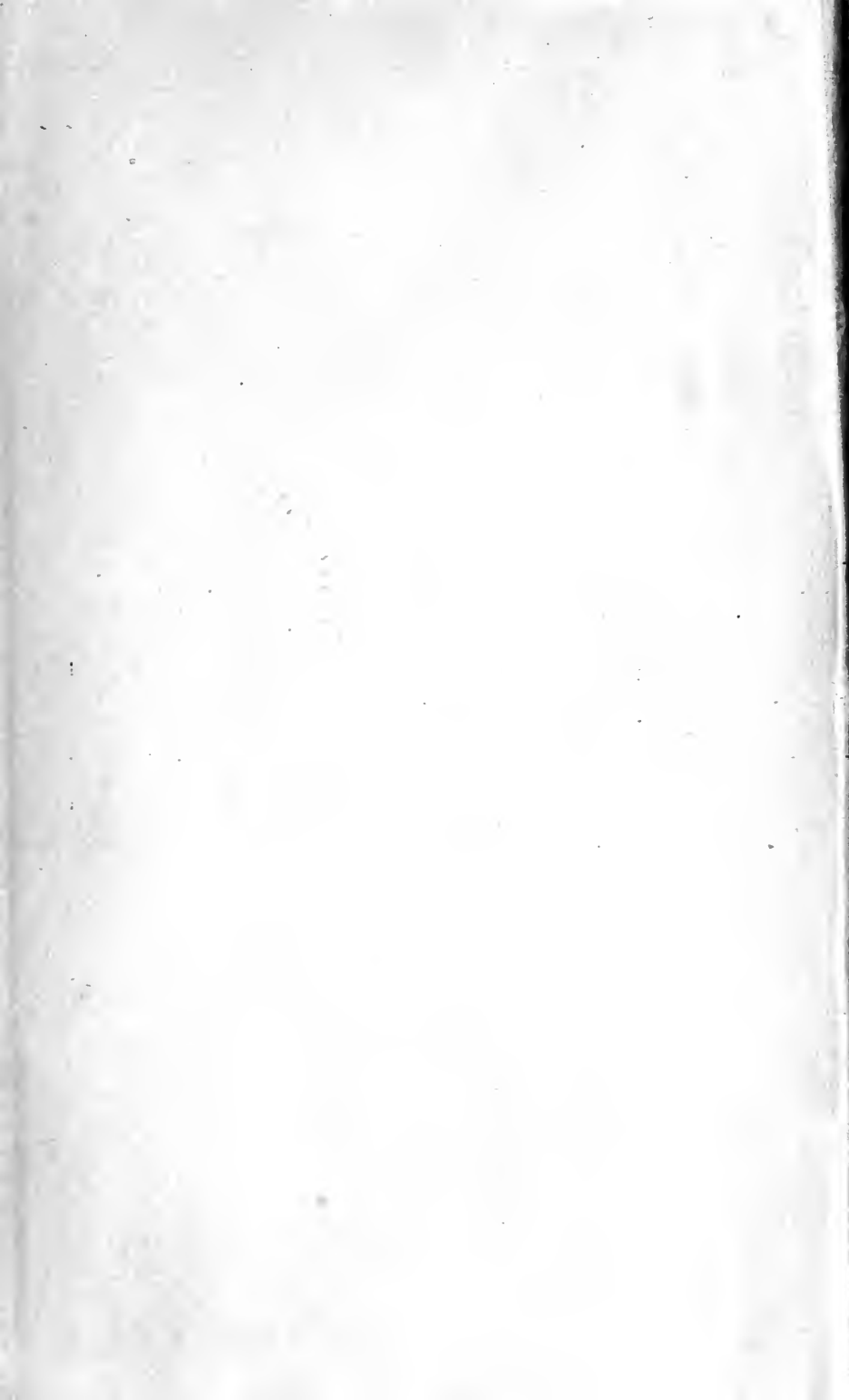


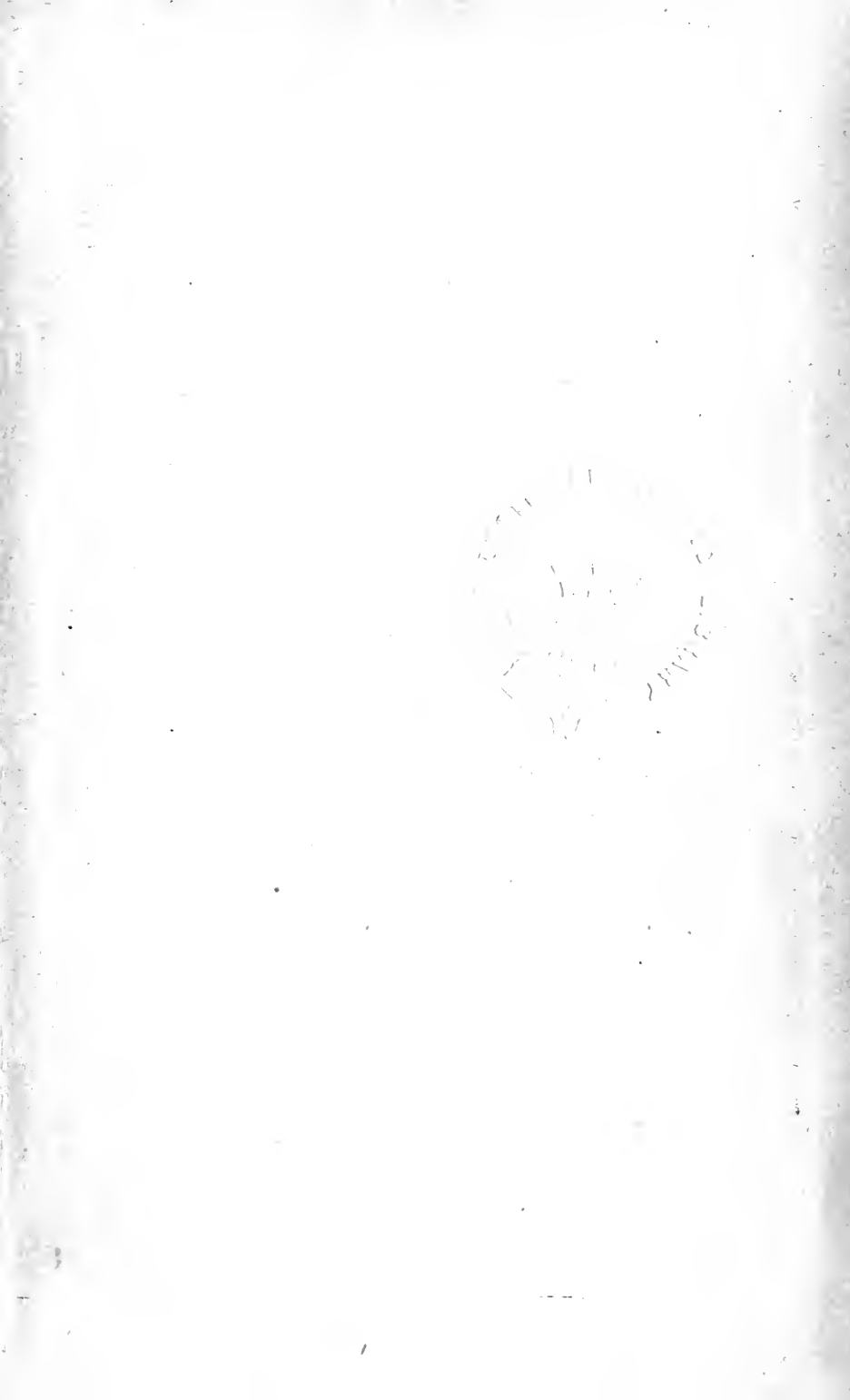
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MISCELLANIES.

I.—ON THE SURVIVAL OF EARLY ENGLISH WORDS IN OUR PRESENT DIALECTS. BY THE REV. RICHARD MORRIS, M.A., LL.D.

*Forming part of his Annual Address as President of the Philological Society,
May 19th, 1876, and reprinted from the Philological Society's Transactions
for 1875-6.*

WHILE we acknowledge that the study of our provincialisms is necessary to a thorough history of English sound-changes, yet their phonetic characteristics do not constitute their only interest for philological students of English. The relics they have preserved for us have a linguistic and literary value, and no history of the development of our language can be considered complete that entirely ignores them.

Our present standard English was originally a local dialect, which, under favourable circumstances not accorded to others, rose to the condition of a literary language. At the same time it must be borne in mind that our present standard English is indebted to almost all the other dialects for certain grammatical and lexicographical forms, whose special provincial origin is now forgotten or lost sight of. No one dialect of old English is competent to account for all our present grammar and vocabulary. The history of our pronouns, for instance, must be gathered from a study of the old Northern literature; while our verb necessitates a knowledge of Northern and Midland peculiarities.

All the ancient dialectic characteristics are not by any means quite effaced in their modern representatives, and the publications of the English Dialect Society will enable those who take an interest in local dialects to study them as independent idioms, having a separate existence and a peculiar

growth and history of their own. While writing this report my eye lighted upon the publications already referred to, and on turning over the leaves of a few of them I was struck by the extent of the vocabularies of some of our existing dialects.

The process of word-formation has, to a great extent, been checked and limited in the literary dialect, since it is so much easier to borrow words ready made than to form new ones. The number of derivatives, therefore, from any given root are extremely few in our "book language" as compared with those in the earlier periods or in our patois.

In the provincial dialects word-making seems to have been in active operation, and is so still wherever the old idioms are in full play; and we find no repugnance to such formations as *lowths*¹ (lowlands), *footh*¹ (= *fulth*, abundance), *foothy*¹ (well-off), *coolth*² (coolness), *lewth*² (shelter), *blowth*² (blossom), *teamful*¹ (brimming), *deftish* (dextrous), *betterment*¹ (amendment), *growsome*¹ (applied to weather favourable for growing crops), *lixom* (= *likesome*, amiable), *skathy* (mischievous).

In Early English we had *fighty* (warlike), *frighty* (timid). So in our dialects we meet with *lasty*¹ (durable), *wanty* (deficient), *oxey*² ("not *steerish*," ox-like), *deedy*² (active, clever), *deedily*² (earnestly), *deedless*² (helpless, spiritless), or *dateless*¹ (foolish), *floaty*² (rank), *sloumy*¹ (slow), *shirky*² (deceitful).

We have kept *don*, but have not gone so far as to adopt *donnings*³ (fine clothes), *dontles*¹ (clothes), or *douters*¹ (extinguishers, from the derivative verb *dout* (=do out).

In Middle English we meet with *daffe* and *bedaffen*; and as dialectic forms we find to *daffe*¹ (to chat, loiter, falter, confound, daunt*), *bedaff* (to confuse), and we still retain *daft*; but where are the North-country *daffock* (a simpleton, fool), *daffe* (to become weak-minded, waver, change), *daftlike* (foolish), *daffish* (shy, modest), *daffy* or *duffy* (soft, insipid, foolish), *daff-head* (a blockhead), *daffly* (forgetful), *dafties* (silly folks), *daftish* (rather stupid), *daftness* (imbecility)?

Even *eye* is a fruitful parent in Yorkshire, and includes among its offspring *eeful* (observant), *eeing* (discerning,

¹ Northern. ² Southern. ³ Herefordshire. * See *Much Ado*, iv. 1.

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perceiving), *eeny* (cellular), *ee-preeaf* (ocular demonstration), *ee-sconner* (the baleful glance).

Laugh gives us *laughter*¹ (a laying or setting of eggs, a brood of chickens). Nor does *fly* (*flegg*¹) give us *flegged* (fledged), *fligs*¹ (fledgelings), and *fliggurs*¹ (birds that can fly),* *fliggard*¹ (a kind of kite), *fligger* (to flitter). *Ere* stands almost alone; and we miss *eresh*¹ (rather early), and *erest*¹ (the foremost). We have *game*, but not *to game*¹ (to mock), *gammer*¹ (to gossip), and *gamock*³ (foolish silly sport, to romp). *Gather* has not given rise to *gathersome*¹ (social), while *ill* produces no *ill-deed*, *illify*, *cow-ills*, etc., as in Yorkshire.

The *Whitby off* not only means *offspring*, but is the parent of *off-come* (apology), *offish* (unwell, shy, unsocial); *offil*, which is actually used as a verb in the phrase 'has he *offil'd* weel?' (has he left much property, or cut up well?), and *offily* (ill-proportioned).

The Sussex *in*=to inclose land, to house corn; and *innings*=land that has been inclosed from the sea.

We have *carve*, but it has not given us *kerf*² (a notch). *Claw* makes no derivative like *clawk* (to scratch). Although *swill* is left us, *swilker* (to dash) only survives in our local dialects. The Northern *spelk*, a derivative of *spill* (a splinter of wood), and the East-Midland *pulk* (from *pool*) are as good as *yolk*, *lar-k*, etc. While *tight* of course comes from *tie*, we should be now at a loss to understand the Sussex *ox-tights* (chains for fastening oxen up), or *wanty*¹ (= *wamb-tie*, belly-band).

How well do our provincial glossaries illustrate a solitary form in literary English. Thus *slattern* finds its relatives in the Northern *slat* (to slop, a spot), *slat* (splashed), *slatter* (to waste, spill), *slattery* (wet). *Gobble* is allied to Elizabethan and provincial English *gobbet* (a morsel, bit), and to the dialectic forms, mostly Northern, *gob* (mouth, an open or wide mouth, idle talk, prate, portion, lump), *gobbet* (the mouth, a mouthful), *gobble* (to do anything fast, to grumble), *gobbler* (a turkey-cock), *gobloch* (a lump, mass), *gob-thrust* (a stupid fellow), *gob-*

¹ Northern. ² Southern. ³ Salop. * Palsgrave has *figness*=plumage.

fight (an interchange of angry words, a feat at eating), *gob-ful* (mouthful), *gob-slotch* (a dirty, voracious eater), *gobstick* (a wooden spoon), *gobbish* (talkative), *gobby* (inclined to babble, wordy), *gobbin* (a greedy person), *gob-meat* (food), *gobstring* (a bridle), *gobvent* (utterance), *gobwind* (an eructation), *snotter-gob* (the red part of a turkey's head). *Clammy* finds its kindred in the East-Anglian *clam* (a clamminess, a dirty slut); the Northern *clam* (to dry up), the Sussex *clam* (a rat-trap), Yorkshire *clam* (slimy), *clame* or *cleam* (to stick, glue together, daub), *clamm'd* (clogged), *clams* (forceps). *Seldom* has now no *seld* (rare), as in M.E., but receives light from the North-country *selt* (a chance). We have *clay*, but not the Yorkshire *clag* (to adhere), nor *claggy*, *clergy* (sticky, tenacious), *clagg'd*, (clogged up), etc.

Not only do our local dialects surpass us in word-making, but they have gone far beyond us in preserving the original meaning of a word, and in extending its signification. Compare, for example, the Northern *warp* (to cast, also to bend, to lay eggs), with our restricted use of the verb. We have no noun like the Southern *warp* (four of a thing, applied to herrings), or the East-Anglian *warps* (flat wide beds of ploughed land).

We cannot now employ *went* (as in Kent and Sussex) for a cross-way, nor are we able to say with a North-countryman that the milk is *wented* or turned sour. The Sussex dialect even preserves a noun *wint* from the verb *wind*, meaning a *turn*. In Kentish *charr'd* is used like *wented* (sour). The Sussex use of *trade*, indicating its connexion with *tread*,¹ means 'the ruts in a road,' also 'anything to carry,' 'household goods,' 'lumber.' In this dialect we can talk of a *team* (instead of a litter) of pigs, and use *qucer* as a verb in the sense of to puzzle; while to *flight* means to shoot wild ducks, *i.e.* to let fly at them, and *flogged* means tired out, beaten. *Hug* now signifies to embrace, but we miss the meaning it has in the North of 'to carry,' whence *news-huggers*=news-carriers. An East-Anglian's *wrongs* are crooked arms, or large boughs of trees when the faggot-wood is cut

¹ cf. 'the trade-winds.'

off. Our *crab* and *crabbed* are well illustrated by the North-country *crabbe* (to provoke, stumble), *crob* (to reproach, reprove). In an old Scotch Glossary it translates *offendo*. To catch a *crab*, used in rowing, may be connected with this. It is quite certain the term once belonged to hawking. R. Holme says (p. 238), “*Crabb* is when hawks standing too near fight with one another.”

The Northern *thrang* or *throng*¹ is used as an adjective in the sense of ‘busy,’ ‘busily employed.’ In some of the Northumbrian dialects *forgive* = thaw, from its original sense of *to give up*. The Yorkshire *snuffers* are the nostrils, and *wine-berries* are gooseberries, not grapes. The East-Anglian *baffle* (to ill-use, beat about) throws a flood of light on the original meaning of the “book” word. We know that a *baffled* knight was not very leniently treated. *Baffled*, as applied by a Norfolk peasant to standing corn or grass beaten about by the wind, or stray cattle, adds greatly to our knowledge of the modern term.

Callow is usually restricted to unfledged birds, but the provincial use of the word has no such limitation. The Kentish phrase ‘to lie *callow*’ has the meaning of to lie in an exposed manner with few clothes and the curtains undrawn. A Sussex man can apply *callow* to the woods when they are just beginning to bud out; while an East-Anglian employs it with respect to land, the surface of which has been removed in digging for gravel.

Ham (our *home*) in Sussex is applied to a level pasture field. In the vale of Gloucester it signifies a stunted common pasture for cows; while *grist* (= *grind-t*) is a week’s allowance of flour for a family. In Kent, *linger* is to long after a thing.

Fathom once meant to grasp, embrace; in Norfolk it means to spread out or fill out (like corn). In this dialect *stow* is to confine cattle in a yard or pound. *Grope* (O.E. *grapian*, to touch, feel, lay hold of) has now a very restricted meaning with us. In M.E. it meant to probe a wound, among other significations. In the North *groping*

¹ In “The Gest Hystoriale” of the Destruction of Troy, l. 3094, *thrange* is used in the sense of busily, heartily.

denotes 'a mode of ascertaining whether geese or fowls have eggs,' also 'a mode of catching trout by tickling them with the hands under rocks or banks.' There is also a *grabble*, to grope (in holes for trout).

The North-country *slean* or *slain* (smut of corn) is identical with the p.p. of *slay*, the original meaning of which must have been 'struck,' hence infected; * cf. the North-country *smit*, to infect; *smittle*, infectious. *Gad*¹ (our *goad*) is used for a fishing rod, and for a tall person; *fare* in the South means to ache; cf. *irk*, of Norse origin, with our *work*; in the North it signifies to eat, live; and *farewell* = to taste, relish.

The old English *wurse*, the devil, appears as *ooser* or *oose* in the Dorset speech, and means a mask with opening jaws, put on with a cow's skin, to frighten folk.

In our provincial glossaries we find the primitive forms of many of our derivatives, as *rag*,¹ a drizzling rain; *nim*¹ for *nimble* (also to walk); *gain*,¹ advantageous, as in *ungain-ly*; *snag*, *sneg*,² a snail; *flack*,¹ to flicker; *holl*,¹ hollow; *hag*,¹ to cut (cf. *haggle*), as *bat*,¹ a blow (cf. *batter*), and *bats*,¹ a beating; *cake*,¹ to cackle (like geese); *swelt*,² hot, faint (as in *swelter*); *gut*,² a gutter; *drib*,² a dribble; *daze*,¹ to dazzle; *stut*,¹ to stammer, *stutter*; *feg*,¹ fair; *kinn*,¹ a chink; *foor*,² a furrow; *slaum*, *sloum*,¹ a gentle slumber. We say 'it is hazy,' but not 'it hazes' = it rains small. We have *charwoman*, but not now the North country *char*, business, or *char*, to turn, counterfeit. At Whitby, *char* = to bark at (? turn on). Here too we find *clum* = numb, and *clumsome* or *clussome* = clumsy. Ray has *clumps*, an idle person, unhandy, blunt. In Dorset, *clum* = to handle roughly.

We find older forms too, in the North, as *rigg*, a ridge, *flig*, to fly, *lig*, to lie, *brig*, a bridge, *haggle*, to hail, *haggy*, misty.

These instances throw light on the word to *badger* (originally to *haggle* with, to barter), from the verb *buy*. The local dialects have preserved *badger* in the sense of shop-keeper, dealer, corn-dealer, with which we may compare the

* þe deoful . . . sloh Iob mid þære wurste wunde.—Homilies, Bodl. MS. 343, fol. 13.

¹ Northern.

² Southern.

Yorkshire *badgering* (beating down the cost). The softening of *g* to *dg* is also seen in *ledger* and similar formations.

In Early English there was the word *beger* = buyer. 'De *beger* bet litil þar-fore' = the buyer biddeth little for it (O.E. Hom. vol. ii. p. 213).

Curious distinctions are made in our local idioms.

In East-Anglian speech rats *nabble*, and mice *nibble*; in Sussex *nabble* is to gossip, and *nabbler* is a gossip.

A Sussex man speaks of a married woman as *Miss*, and a single one as *Mrs.*; his wife he calls his *mistus*.

Stunt (the same as *stint*) in East Yorkshire means stubborn or inflexible, as a *stunt* child, a *stunt* stick; but *stent* is a portion of work appointed to be done in a set time. As a noun *stint* (or *stent*) signifies limit, quantity, allowance of anything, a limited number of cattle-gates in common pasture (cf. *stunt*, to make a fool of one; *stunty*, obstinate; *stuntish*, sullen). In the West Riding of Yorkshire *blink*, according to Dr. Willan, means to smile, look kindly on; at Whitby it means to *wink*, to shed a tear, to clear up (applied to hazy weather). *Waw* in East Yorkshire is to cry, mew like a cat, while *wawl* is to cry audibly. In some of the Northern glossaries *waw* signifies to bark, while *wawl* is to squeak, cry out.

Numerous words in our dialects belong to a former period, and render them more archaic than the standard English, as the North-country *arf*, afraid; *carl-cat*, a tom-cat; *wheen-cat*, a she-cat; *dow*, to mend, be good; *fang*, to seize; *foor-days*, late in the day; *for-warden*, overrun with (lice, dirt), pronounced at Whitby *forworden*, is the E.E. *forworthen*, the p.p. of *forworthen*, to perish; *sweb*, a swoon (M.E. *swefn*, a dream); *unleed*, bad (applied to venomous creatures as well as to persons); *wikes*, corners of the mouth; *bote*, bounty; *dream-holes*, the spaces between the luffer-boards in belfry windows, to let out the sound of the bells. (In the Owl and Nightingale, l. 21, we have "the *drem* . . . of harpe and pipe.") East Anglian *cooth*, a cold; *coathy*, surly; *cothish*, faint, cf. the Lincolnshire *coathe*, a swoon. (In Dorset *cothe* is applied to a disease in sheep. In

Somerset *cothe* is to become rotten.) The Sussex *amper*¹ (O.E. *ampre*, *ompre*, a swelling vein) = a flaw, fault in linen or woollen clothes, also a swelling sore, forms the derivatives *ampery* = beginning to decay (applied to cheese), *ampre-ang* = a decayed tooth. It occurs but once in E. English (see O.E. Hom. vol. i. p. 237). The Sussex *teller*, a branch,² is only found in the literature of the oldest English period; *hoe*,³ fuss, anxiety, is the M.E. *howe*, O.E. *hoga*, care, anxiety; the Northern *hig*, disgust, enmity = O.E. *hyge*, care, animus.

This archaic character makes all provincial glossaries very helpful to students of our earlier literature, and many terms that I have come across I was only able to gloss by their aid, as *cagge* (Allit. Poems), to carry = provincial *cadge*; *biclarted* (in O.E. Hom. Second Series, where the MS. has *biclaried*) was suggested by the North-country word *clart*, to daub. Mr. Robinson gives *clart*, a smear of dirt; *clarted*, bedaubed; *clartiness*, untidiness; *clarts*, daubs; *clarty*, untidy, dirty, petty. The North-country *elt*,⁴ to knead, explains *eiltten* in Genesis and Exodus, which at first sadly puzzled me; *lopperd*, curdled, made Hampole's *lopird* (*lopred*) plain enough, in spite of the readings of many Southern transcripts.

In my O.E. Hom. Second Series, p. 37, the phrase 'the fule *floddri*' occurs twice. I have glossed *floddri* conjecturally as *mire*. It is no doubt a literal error for *floddre*, the dative case of *flodder*, and is represented by the North-country *flodder*, foam, and is connected with the Craven *flodder up*, to overflow; Icelandic *flæðr*, flood-tide, *flæða*, to flood over. (There is an O.E. *flæðer* = flakes of snow, which appears in Early English as *flother*, and in the Yorkshire patois as *flothery*, 'slovenly, but showy.')

In these Homilies, p. 165, l. 35, occurs the strange form *stoples*, steps, probably for *steples*, identical with the East-Anglian *stepples*, a short flight of steps.

¹ In the East of England *anbury* or *anberry* is applied to a knob or excrescence on potatoes or turnips. It is also said to mean "a kind of bloody wort on a horse."

² In Kent *teller* = a sapling; in the North it means to germinate.

³ Southern.

⁴ My attention was drawn to this by Dr. Stratmann.

In the Cursor Mundi we meet with the phrase '*throd* and thriven.' The North-country dialects alone explain it by their use of *þrodden*, to thrive, grow; *throdde*, plump; cf. Icelandic *þróask*, to wax, grow. Stratmann gives no instance of the word.

In a case tried in the police courts the other day, a woman spoke of having '*nicked* a watch.' I find this, to us, horribly vulgar word, in common use among boys. It occurs in various dialects with the sense of to cheat, steal; and it curiously enough turns up in the Cursor. This work will furnish an early written authority for many of our dialectic words.

A North-country cattle-dealer will say to a farmer, "I'll gie ya fifteen shillin a-piece for thore hundred cows, an ya'll let ma *shoot* ten on em."

By *shooting*¹ ten, he means expelling or *driving* out ten of the worst. So in the Cursor we read of the blind man who was healed by Jesus, that

Wiþ þis þai *shotte* him as a dogge
Riȝt out of þaire synagog.

(Fairfax MS., l. 13658, p. 784.)

The Trinity (Midland) MS. has *huntid* for *shotte*.

The Cursor *span*, to wean, appears in North-country glossaries as *speän*, which also means to germinate, as corn, when it begins to be detached from the parent grain; cf. *spainin*, the weaning of lambs. The oldest English *spanan* = to seduce, allure, which is a secondary meaning from *spana* (provincial *spean*), a teat, dug. So *sanke*, 'to assemble,' for which, as far as I know, the Cursor is the only English written authority, appears in the Cumberland glossaries as *sank*, with the sense of a 'quantity, collection,' cf. Icelandic *sanka*, *samka*; Dan. *sanke*, to collect.

Skep, a basket, in the Cursor, is widely known. In the North it is a deep round coarse basket. In Sussex it means a flat bushel, a vessel for yeast, a bee-hackle, a bee-hive (as in Norfolk), and even a hat. M.E. *stipre*, only conjecturally defined as a support or prop in my Legends of the Holy

¹ cf. the phrases, "Rubbish may be *shot* here"; "A *shotten* herring" (Shakespeare).

Rood (cf. "The stipre that is under the vine set"), is identical with the Northern *stiper*, a piece of wood fixed upright in the doorway of a barn, against which the double doors are shut.

The Northern *laughton*, a garden (Ray gives *liten*, a garden), Sussex *litten* (O.E. *lic-tun*), a churchyard, throws light on *leyhtun*, a garden, and *leyhtunward*, the gardener, in O.E. Miscellany, 45/291, 53/576.

Litnen or *lite*, to trust to, which occurs in O.E. Homilies, vol. i. p. 7, and also in the Ormulum and Cursor, is represented by the North-country *lite*, to wait, expect or depend on. There is also a Northumbrian noun *lite* = expectation, anticipation. Stratmann queries the derivation from Icelandic *lita*, 'to look to one;' recip. 'to look to one another.' The presence and use of the dialectic terms remove all doubt about the origin of the word. The E. Eng. *lipnen* or *lipnien*, to trust to, depend on, of whose origin we know nothing, is a substitute for *litnen* in the Moral Ode, and still survives in the North-country *lippen*, to rely on, trust to.

Chaucer's English is illustrated by the Northern *new-fangle*, fond of new clothes. *Hind*, in the North, is a farm bailiff, one who has the charge of cattle (see Prol. l. 603). *Garner*, in the Midland counties, is still a bin, as in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales (l. 593); while *gay* in East-Anglian means gaudy, speckled, as light-coloured cattle (see Prol. l. 74). The phrase, 'atte unset stevene,' in the Knight's Tale, l. 666, is well illustrated by the Cumberland phrase, 'to set the *stever*,' i.e. to agree upon the time and place of meeting previous to some expedition. Cf. Northern *stem*, *steem*, to bespeak a thing; Dorset *stem*, a period of time, *stemmy*, to work at set times, take one's time.

To *stoke* occurs in the Knight's Tale (l. 1688) with the sense of to stab, stick. In many dialects we find *stoke* in the sense of to poke, or stir the fire (hence *stoker*), and *stoch* (a softened form of *stoke*), a stab. It seems a rare word in our early literature. I have, however, come across it in the Cursor, l. 7667, p. 442 (Fairfax version):

þe king þen hent a sper ful sharp
to *stoke* him þorow-out þe wagh.

The Cotton MS. has *stair*, evidently an error for *staic*, representing Icelandic *steikja*, to spit; while *stoke* is evidently connected with Icelandic *staka*, to punt, push.

Many of Shakespeare's words may be explained by a reference to provincial glossaries. The Northern *mop*, to look affectedly, look about like a child, *mop-eyed*, a simpleton, explains *mope* and *mop* in the *Tempest*, Act V. Sc. 1, l. 239. *Deg* or *dag*, to moisten, drizzle, a North-country word, clears up *decked* in the same play, Act I. Sc. 2, l. 155; and the North-country phrase, '*rack* of the weather,' i.e. the tract in which the clouds move, admirably explains the well-known line: "Leave not a *rack* behind."

Sometimes a word or form turns up in our provincial speech that we should in vain look for in all our Old English dictionaries and glossaries, but which nevertheless is a genuine Teutonic form. Amongst the Northern expressions given by Peacock, we find '*that lids*,' where *lids*=manner, corresponding very closely to the Gothic suffix in '*swa-lauds*,' so much, '*hwe-lauds*,' what sort.

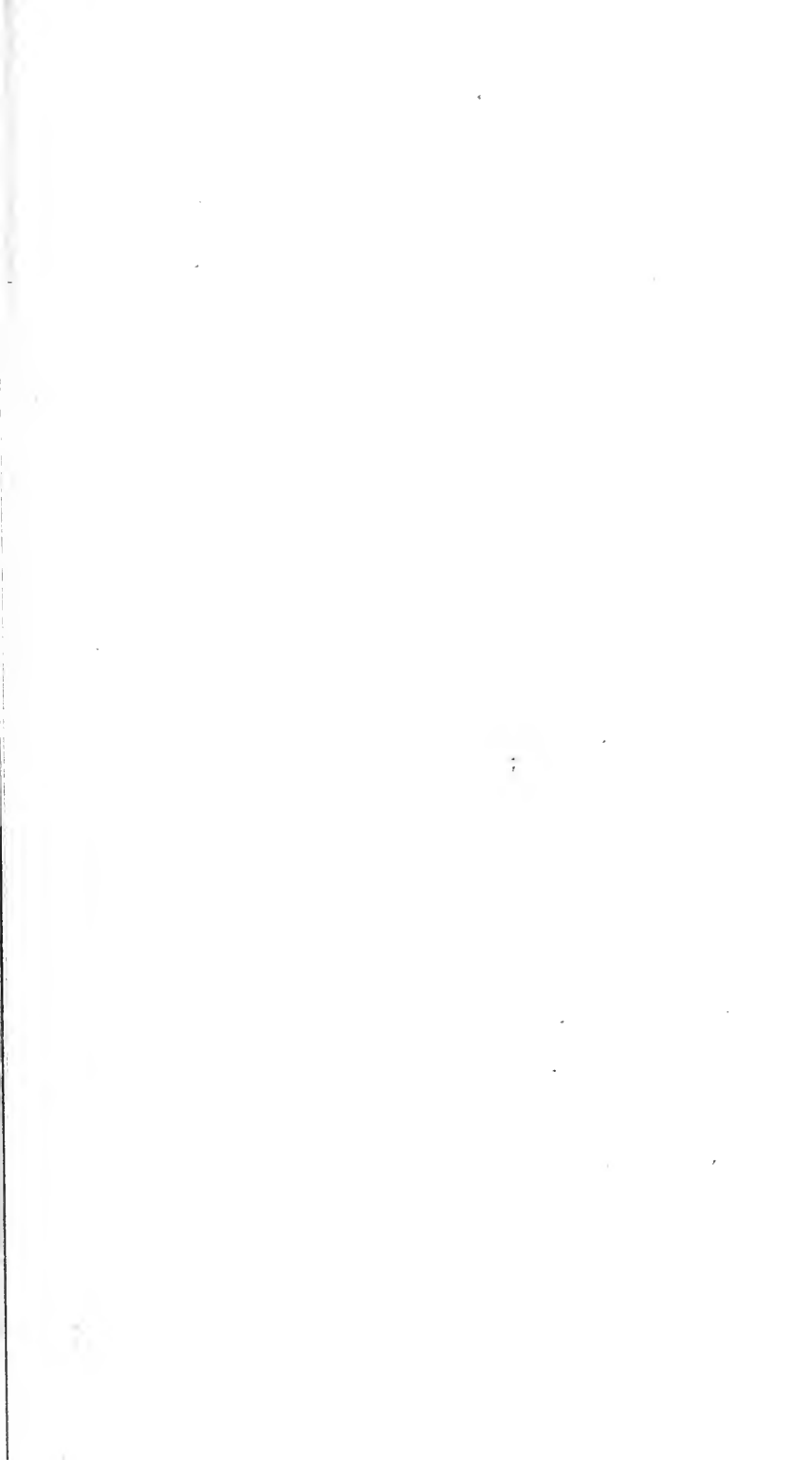
English etymology might receive some help from our provincial idioms. Mr. Wedgwood has made much use of them in his endeavour to trace our words back to their sources. He misses, however, the true derivation of *greaves*, sediment of melted tallow, which in the "Imperial Dictionary" is described as 'not in use or local.' In the North *greaves* are sometimes called *scratchings* or scraps. There can be no doubt that it is connected with the root *grave* in engraved, a grave; cf. the Northern *greecave*, to dig, pare, slice. He overlooks also the true etymon of *stingy*, from the verb to 'sting.' An East Anglian says the 'air is *stingy*,' that is, nipping, biting, bitter. *Stinge*, a sting, is a good North-country word; *stingy* is ill-tempered, while *hingy*=inclined to idle, or hang about.

The Whitby dialect preserves the correct form of the modern *landlubber* (not noticed in Wedgwood) as *landlouper*=landleaper. Cotgrave has "Villotier, a vagabond, *landloper*, earth planet, continual gadder from town to town."

The change (not very old) from *landloper* to *landlubber* is due to such compounds as *abbey-lubber*, etc.

[Provincial words sometimes make their way into the literary dialect. The new Elementary Education Bill has made us familiar with the adjective *wastrel*. Lord Sandon, who was the first to use it, calls it an old English word. It does not occur, however, in our early literature, nor is it a pure English term. *Wastrel* is not properly an adjective, but a substantive, which in many dialects means imperfect bricks, china, etc. In the West of England it signifies a profligate. The word *wastrel* is a good instance of a suffix (-*rel*) that has almost died out in the standard language.]

A good deal more might be said from an antiquarian point of view about the importance of our local dialects, but I must refrain, in order to bring to your notice other matters.

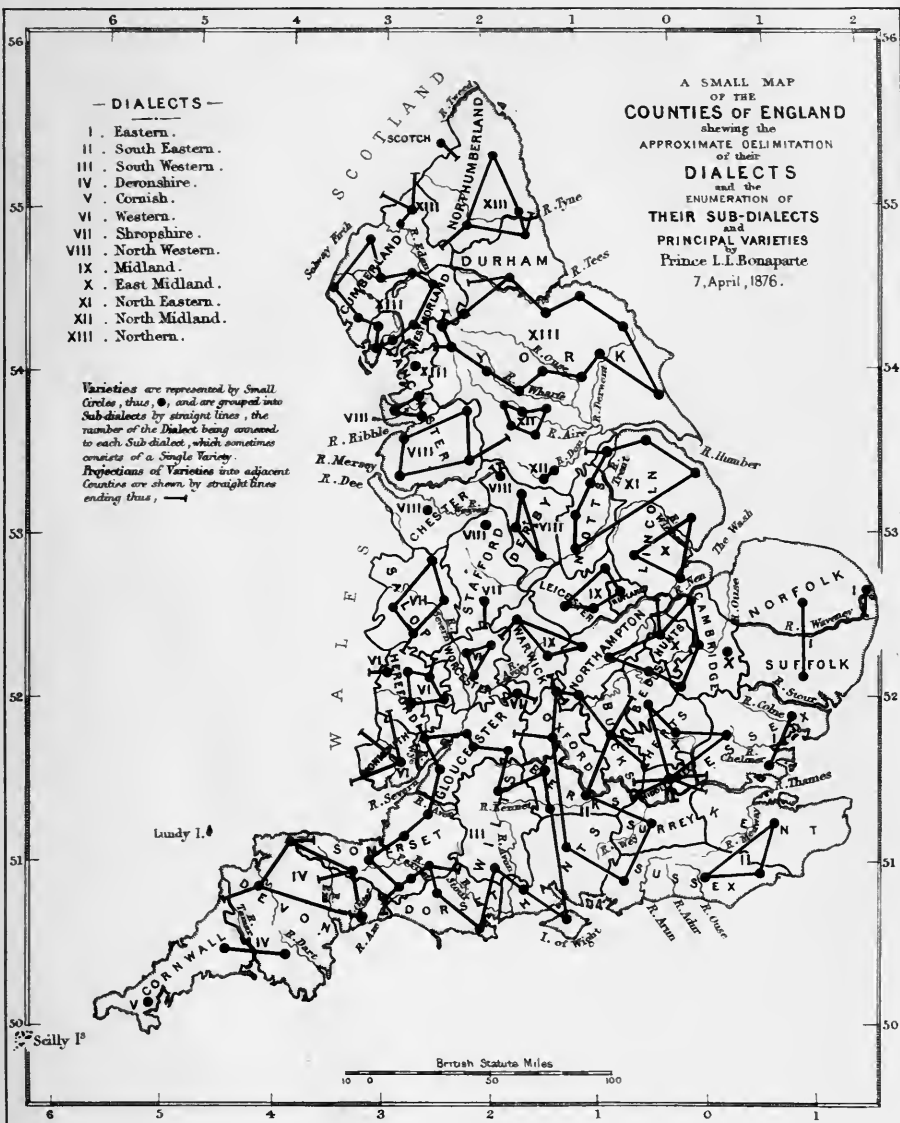


— DIALECTS —

- I. Eastern.
- II. South Eastern.
- III. South Western.
- IV. Devonshire.
- V. Cornish.
- VI. Western.
- VII. Shropshire.
- VIII. North Western.
- IX. Midland.
- X. East Midland.
- XI. North Eastern.
- XII. North Midland.
- XIII. Northern.

Varieties are represented by Small Circles, thus, ●, and are grouped into Sub-dialects by straight lines, the number of the Dialect being connected to each Sub-dialect, which sometimes consists of a Single Variety. Projections of Varieties into adjacent Counties are shown by straight lines ending thus, —

A SMALL MAP
OF THE
COUNTIES OF ENGLAND
showing the
APPROXIMATE DELIMITATION
of their
DIALECTS
and the
ENUMERATION OF
THEIR SUB-DIALECTS
and
PRINCIPAL VARIETIES
by
Prince L.L. Bonaparte
7 April, 1876.



- I Eastern.
- II South Eastern.
- III South Western.
- IV Devonshire.
- V Cornish.
- VI Western.
- VII Shropshire.
- VIII North Western.
- IX Midland.
- X East Midland.
- XI North Eastern.
- XII North Midland.
- XIII Northern.

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English Statute Miles

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II.—ON THE DIALECTS OF MONMOUTHSHIRE, HEREFORDSHIRE, WORCESTERSHIRE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, BERKSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE, SOUTH WARWICKSHIRE, SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, HERTFORDSHIRE, MIDDLESEX, AND SURREY, WITH A NEW CLASSIFICATION OF THE ENGLISH DIALECTS. By PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

[Read before the Philological Society, 7th April, 1876.]

DURING the summer of the past year I made several excursions in some of the English counties, with the object of ascertaining the general nature of the dialect therein spoken amongst the uncultivated peasants. The result I have obtained has been rather contrary to what I expected to find, and has obliged me to modify my previous classification. The parts of England which I have made the subject of my late linguistical researches, are the following :—Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, South Warwickshire, South Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and Surrey.

In all the County of Monmouth I have found English the language of the majority of the natives; but while in some of the western parishes the Welsh is still spoken by an important minority, in other parishes, particularly the eastern, it is sometimes very difficult, though not impossible, to find even a very few Welsh-speaking individuals. The Welsh spoken in Monmouthshire is very similar to that of Glamorgan and Brecknockshire. For what concerns the Monmouthshire vulgar English, it is rather an independent sub-dialect of the Western English than anything else.¹ This sub-dialect extends into the south-west border of Herefordshire. A specimen of the Abergavenny Monmouthshire English has

¹ See that part of VI. on the accompanying map, which lies in Monmouthshire. The map should be consulted throughout while reading the following notes.

been kindly supplied to me by Lady Llanover, and Mr. A. J. Ellis has made a phonetical transcription, as well as an accurate analysis of it. The vocabulary of the Monmouthshire English sub-dialect is more or less Welshified, and some of the principal characters of the Western English Dialect, to which it belongs, are also observable in it, such for instance as the occasional *I be, he be, we be, you be, they be*, for *I am, he is, we are, you are, they are*; the periphrastic instead of the simple tenses; the sound of *r* peculiar also to the South-Western Dialect, and the substitution of the Italian diphthong *ai* in several words which in English receive the final sound of *ay*, as in *hay, day, say*, pronounced in Monmouthshire *hāi, dāi sāi*. The specimen of Lady Llanover has not been my only basis in giving the aforesaid characters. I have been obliged to consult, in addition to it, the daily use of some uncultivated peasants, particularly about the town of Monmouth.

The Western English Dialect¹ is, as far as I can judge, the transitional one between the South-western English and the Shropshire Dialects. It may be subdivided into the following sub-dialects: 1. Herefordshire in general; 2. Monmouthshire with South-western border of Herefordshire; 3. North-western border of Herefordshire; 4. Worcestershire; 5. South Warwickshire with a small portion of extreme North-east Gloucestershire, and another small portion of extreme South-east Worcestershire. I have not observed, as often occurring, the initial changes of *f*, *s*, and *thr* into *v*, *z*, and *dr*, either in the sub-dialect of Monmouthshire, or in those of Worcestershire and South Warwickshire. I am uncertain about the Welshified sub-dialect of the North-west border of Herefordshire, but in that of the county in general, the aforesaid initial changes are presented by my specimens of Ledbury, Much Cowarne, and Weobley, though not by those of central Herefordshire and Leominster. This last variety extends with some differences into North-west Worcestershire about Tenbury. No Welsh is now spoken

¹ See the three sub-dialects marked VI. on the map. The South-western is marked III. and the Shropshire VII.

by the natives of Herefordshire and Shropshire, with the exception of the parishes of Llanyblodwell, Oswestry, and Llansillin, belonging to the North-west of this county, and in these the Welsh of Denbighshire is still spoken by a few. In the extreme North of Herefordshire, a variety of the Shropshire Dialect is in use, and about Ross and Goodrich, in the south of the county, another variety belonging to the South-western Dialect, and similar to that of Dean Forest, in Gloucestershire, is to be found. Besides the dialects already named, a variety of the South Staffordshire sub-dialect penetrates the extreme northern corner of Worcestershire, and another variety of the Midland Dialect may be observed in the extreme north-eastern corner of the same county.¹ The peculiar sounds of the Italian *ai* and of the Western *r* I have not observed in the South Warwickshire sub-dialect.

In Gloucestershire, the South-western² is the dialect generally in use, and to it belong the following varieties: Gloucester Valley, Gloucester Town, Valley of Berkeley, Dean Forest, and Cotswold. The initial changes of *f*, *s*, and *thr* into *v*, *z*, and *dr* are less frequent in the Gloucester Town and Cotswold varieties than in the other three. The change of the English *ā* into *ē* is peculiar to the town of Gloucester, as *neme*, *seme*, *plece*, for *name*, *same*, *place*.³ A similar change takes place, according to Sternberg, in Northamptonshire, on the borders of Leicester and Rutland. While the north-western and south-western portions of Berkshire present two varieties of the South-western English, the eastern part, on the contrary, belongs to the South-eastern Dialect.⁴ In the South-western Dialect, the periphrastic instead of the simple tenses, the prefix *a* before the past participles, the sound of the Italian *ai* replacing the English *ay*, and the use of *I be*,

¹ These projections of the dialect of one county into another are all marked on the map by lines projecting from the variety of speech in question, terminated by little transverse lines, as subsequently explained.

² No. III. on the map.

³ [I find the same peculiarity in a specimen from Tetbury, in which *keear*, *lean*, *neeme*, *keece*, *seef*, *pretes*, *meek*, occur for "care, lane, name, case, safe, prates, make." Tetbury is exactly South of Gloucester city on the border of Wiltshire.—A. J. ELLIS.]

⁴ No. II. on the map.

we be, you be, they be, are more or less observed ; but of all these characters, only the last persists in the South-eastern Dialect.

Varieties of the South-eastern English are also, generally speaking, those of Oxfordshire, South Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Surrey. The Oxfordshire variety penetrates a little into the East Gloucestershire border, and the variety of Banbury in North Oxfordshire extends into South Northamptonshire, and even a little into South Warwickshire.

Hertfordshire belongs to the East Midland Dialect,¹ with the exception of its west and south-west corners, about Berkhamstead and Rickmansworth, which are South-eastern.

South-eastern also is to be considered the extreme west border of Bedfordshire adjoining Buckinghamshire, although the remainder of the county is decidedly East Midland.

The variety of Middlesex belongs to the East Midland Dialect, and penetrates into a few localities of North Surrey, South-east Buckinghamshire, and East Berkshire, about Windsor, Slough, Chertsey, etc., as well as the extreme south-west and north-west corners of Essex and Kent, about Stratford and Deptford.

In the East Midland Dialect, *I be, we be*, etc., are not found, but *I are*, for *I am*, analogous to the Danish *jeg er*, is not uncommon. I have recognised it in Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Mid Northamptonshire, and even in Middlesex, near Willesden, and in Surrey, near Chertsey ; but it is also to be found in localities belonging to other dialects, such as Ledbury in East Herefordshire, Maidenhead in East Berkshire, Aylesbury in Mid Buckinghamshire, and even in Kent. According to Sternberg, *he are*, for *he is*, and analogous to the Danish *han er*, is also found to occur in North and East Northamptonshire. The forms *he am, we am, you am, they am*, for *he is, we are*, etc., belong to Bedfordshire and South Northamptonshire, and the three last also to Somersetshire and other counties.

The Eastern Dialect² comprises the varieties of Norfolk,

¹ No. X. on the map.

² No. I. on the map.

Suffolk, and East Essex. The use of *I be*, etc., for *I am*, without being common in these counties, has not entirely disappeared, and the periphrastic tenses instead of the simple are also in use; but one of the characters of the Norfolk and Suffolk varieties is the treatment of the third person of the present of the indicative, which very often rejects the final *s*, as in *he love*, for *he loves*, etc. In this respect, these two counties are the reverse of the majority of those in which the South-eastern, Western, and other Dialects are in use. In fact, *I loves*, *he loves*, of the latter, correspond to *I love*, *he love*, of the former dialect. The North-east and South-east Essex varieties do not present the elimination of the *s*, and the use of the periphrastic tenses instead of the simple, as those of Norfolk and Suffolk; but their vocabulary, on the whole, seems to be rather nearer to that of these two counties than to any other. The East Essex varieties belong perhaps, as an independent sub-dialect, as much to the Eastern as to the South-eastern English. The West Essex variety, on the contrary, appears to be East Midland.

The present classification, as far as concerns the primary dialects, is principally founded on their grammatical characters, particularly on the substantive verb; but the vocabulary, and the consonantal and vocal changes are also taken into due consideration in determining the sub-dialects and varieties. That the vocal changes are not so good a criterion for the determination of the principal dialects as certain grammatical characters are, may easily be shown by noting that the same vowel changes take place in the most different forms of English. Thus a sound analogous to, although not identical with, the French *u* or *eu* in *pu* and *peu*, which is to be found in Scotch, occurs also, with trifling differences, very difficult to be expressed phonetically, in Devonshire, West Somersetshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, North-east Essex, and even Kent. I have discovered it at Hampstead Norris in Mid Berkshire; at Brightwell in North Berkshire; at Aldbury, and Great and Little Gaddesden in North-west Hertfordshire; and it is also occasionally to be heard in one or two localities of Surrey. This sound, which

sometimes strikes the ear as if it were more or less diphthongal, very often replaces the English long *oo*. In the same manner the English alphabetical sound of the *a*, as in *gate*, is replaced by another diphthongal one. In fact, *gi't* may be found as well in Southern as in Midland and Northern forms of English. These are only a few instances showing that no more than a secondary value can be attributed to the permutation of vowels in determining the principal English Dialects.

Of the thirteen English Dialects of the forty English Counties, some may be called Southern; other, Midland; and other, Northern. The South-western (No. III.), the Devonshire (No. IV.), and even the Cornish (No. V.), are decidedly Southern; the Midland (No. IX.) is decidedly Midland; and the Northern (No. XIII.) decidedly Northern. The other eight are more or less transitional. In fact, the North-eastern (No. XI.), the North-Western (No. VIII.), and even the North Midland (No. XII.), partake of the Midland and of the Northern; the Western (No. VI.), and even the Shropshire (No. VII.), shade from the Southern into the Midland; the East Midland (No. X.), in its Southern varieties at least, partakes of the South-eastern (No. II.), and this of the former, as well as of the South-western (No. III.); the Eastern (No. I.), finally, shows a tendency towards the Northern varieties of the East Midland (No. X.). This transitional character of the majority of the English Dialects obliges me to abandon their distinction into Southern, Midland, and Northern families, without ceasing, however, to recognize the Southern, Midland, and Northern characters on which the present classification is based.

Southern characters I call: the use of *I be, thou bist, he be, we be, you be, they be*, for *I am*, etc.; the periphrastic tenses replacing the simple, as *I do love*, for *I love*; the prefix *a* before the past participle, as *I have aheard*, for *I have heard*; the permutation of the initial *f, s, sh*, and *thr*, into *v, z, zh*, and *dr*; the broad pronunciation of the Italian *ai*, replacing the sound of the English *ay*, as in *May*, pronounced as the Italian adverb *mai*. Other characters may be quoted as

Southern, but the preceding five I have found sufficient for my object.

Their absence constitutes the negative characters of the Northern English Dialect, and the use, more or less frequent, of *I is, thou is, we is, you is, they is*, pronounced according to the nature of the dialect, presents a good positive criterion for it, although not for the Scotch. The change of *o* into *a* before *ng*, as in *sang, lang, strang*, for *song, long, strong*, may be considered also an additional character of the Northern English. The use of the second person of the singular, and of *I is, thou is, we is*, etc., as well as the absence both of the guttural χ ,¹ and of the intermediate sound between the French *eu* in *peu* and *u* in *pu*, are, in my opinion, good distinctive criteria between Northern English and Scotch. The absence of the *burr* is partial in Northern English, but total in Scotch. It seems, however, that it was heard occasionally, about thirty-five years ago, in the parish of Hutton, belonging to the county of Berwick, and beyond its liberties, which are in England, and possess the *burr*.² For what relates to the forms *I is, they is*, I have sometimes met with them in decidedly non-Northern varieties; but in this case *we is* and *you is* are not to be found, as in the Northern English; and in the same manner it is possible to find, although rarely, in some of the non-Northern varieties, *he, we, or they be*, but not *I be* and *you be*, as in the Southern Dialect.

The Midland characters are negative, and consist in the absence of the Southern as well as the Northern ones. Still the verbal plural in *n*, as *we aren*, for *we are*, distinguishes pretty well the North-western English (No. VIII.); and the form *we bin*, also for *we are*, which may be found in Shropshire (No. VII.), is an interesting instance of the shading of the Southern dialects into the North-western (No. VIII.).

In this Map of England, which I have the honour to offer to the Philological Society³ as the result of my last inquiries and

¹ The Scotch and German *ch*.

² See "The New Statistical Account of Scotland, by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes," vol. ii., Edinburgh, 1845.

³ [The original large map drawn for the Prince by Stanford, and presented to the Philological Society, and preserved in its library with the Prince's map of the Basque Dialects, has been reduced by me for the purpose of printing this

the expression of my present modified opinion—opinion which I submit to the judgment of the English linguists, to whom, as being more competent than I am, I should be willing to abandon in future any further inquiry on this thoroughly English subject to which I am happy to have called their attention;—in this Map of England, I say, the varieties are indicated by red circular marks; the dialects by numbers; and the sub-dialects by the repetition of the same number.

Only dialects and sub-dialects are the essential parts of a classification such as this, the former corresponding, so to speak, to the genera, and the latter to the species of naturalists. In fact, the number of the varieties is almost infinite, and is equivalent to that of the different localities. I have marked in my map only those which I have studied, or whose existence has been communicated to me by Mr. Ellis or others. The projection of a variety into an adjoining county is indicated by a line crossed at the end. It is to be observed that when a variety of a county projects into another county, this projection constitutes generally, if not always, a kind of sub-variety, due to the influence of the new county. It is not to be expected, for instance, that the South Staffordshire variety (No. VII.) projecting into Worcester-shire is absolutely the same in both counties.

No real exact delimitation of English Dialects is, I think, possible. Arbitrary and imaginary ones may be easily given, but careful and critical investigations in visiting the different parishes and hamlets of England, will soon convince the geographical linguist of the futility of such an attempt. This is owing to the fragmentary state of the present English dialects, which are rather remnants of dialects, imperceptibly shading one into the other, and more or less influenced by standard English, than anything else. At any rate, they are not to be compared with Italian, French, German, or

paper. On a small map of the English counties only, prepared for the Prince some years ago, all the dots and lines, representing varieties, their connections and projections, were inserted, as well as the small scale necessary for printing the map on a single page, would allow; but it will, I hope, be found sufficient to make the text intelligible. In this reduction a few slight changes have been made in No. III., due to a subsequent excursion into Somersetshire, as explained in the Appendix.—A. J. ELLIS.]

Basque Dialects, whose delimitation, although difficult, is still possible. Therefore, the red¹ circular marks with their depending lines crossed at the end, as well as the numbers with their repetitions, are only to show the existence of dialects, sub-dialects, and varieties in places in which they are sure to be found; and the lines uniting the different varieties under a single dialect or sub-dialect, have no other object than to indicate their union, and possess no power of delimitation either in excluding or including the localities through which they pass or leave at their right and left.

The three Dialects of Scotland, our linguistical knowledge of which is due to Dr. Murray, have been so well treated in his work,² that no linguist, I feel sure, will presume to suggest any change in their classification in what relates to Scotland. The only liberty I have taken, after having consulted him on the existence or non-existence of some characters of the English East and West Marches sub-dialects (of No. XIII.), consists in having considered them, for the reasons which I have already stated, rather as two independent sub-dialects of the Northern English than of the Southern Scotch. We shall have, then, two Scotch places, Canobie in Dumfriesshire, and Liddisdale in Roxburghshire, where Northern English is in use; and a single place in England, Upper Reedsdale in Northumberland, where the Teviotdale Scotch, according to Dr. Murray, is to be found.

For what concerns the North Insular or fourth Scotch Dialect, which is the only Scotch I have examined on the spot, I have had no reason to modify my former opinion. In fact, my last informations show that the Orkney and Shetland sub-dialects differ by the number, and sometimes also by the quality of their Icelandic words, the Shetland being the richest.

This classification is based: 1. On my own inquiries made in visiting repeatedly the different localities of England every time I have had a good opportunity of doing so; 2. On specimens which I have obtained from different translators of

¹ [The whole markings of the projections, varieties, sub-dialects, and dialects, were in red on the original map, but here appear, of course, as black.—A.J.E.]

² Contained in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1870-2, and also published separately.

Mr. Ellis's comparative specimen, "Why John has no doubts;" 3. On other modern original specimens furnished to me by different native authors; 4. On the modern works of Dr. Murray for the Scotch, and Mr. Elworthy for the West Somerset sub-dialect; 5. On several printed works and specimens generally known, which, notwithstanding their not being as valuable and complete as those of the two last named authors, are by no means to be despised by English dialectologists.

APPENDIX.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOMERSET DIALECT.

The aim of my last excursion into Somersetshire was twofold: FIRSTLY, to ascertain the general nature of the vulgar speech which obtains between the River Parret and the Quantock Hills, with the exception of the southern part of the county; and SECONDLY, to examine if this southern part constitutes an independent variety either of the South-western or of the Devonshire Dialect of the English.

I began my researches at Cannington, west of the Parret and east of the Quantocks, and there I was informed by the Rev. Mr. Bristow, its Rector, that one Edward Wills, sometimes called Thorne, had stated to him that he, Edward Wills, was well acquainted with the word *utchy* for *I*; that he had used it himself, and that it would also be used at present, but rarely, amongst old peasants. I lost no time in visiting myself this respectable patriarch of ninety-four years, and he repeated to me the above statements. The Quantock-Parret speech is at present nearer to the South-western than to the Devonshire Dialect, but it was not so in the time of Jennings, who wrote the Somersetshire Glossary. Then *thecky* for *thick*, meaning *that*, was more in use than at present, but even now *thecky* is not uncommon; *er* for *he*, even in the affirmative phrases, was in common use, and is not quite extinct; and *talketh*, *loveth*, for *talks*, *loves*, are still to be heard. In North Currey, another village between the Parret and the Quantocks, I have heard *thecky* both for *this* and *these*, but I did not find there either *utchy* for *I*, or *er* for *he*. In this variety there is no trace of the sound resembling the French *u*. *Her* for *she*, *talketh* for *talks*, *mowy* for *to mow something* (object unexpressed), are to be heard at Cannington, as well as at North Currey. In my opinion, the Quantock-Parret variety was properly considered by Jennings as being nearer to the Devonshire than to the South-western English, but I fully admit with

Mr. Elworthy that it is now more South-western than anything else. Still the use, more or less preserved, of *er* for *he*, *talketh* for *talks*, and *theeky* for *thick*, entitles it to the rank of an independent variety of the South-western English Dialect.

The Somersetshire speech east of the Parret, which constitutes the central variety of the county, and also the principal portion of the whole dialect, is better preserved in Wedmore (south of Axbridge and west of Wells) than anywhere else; but even there it is rapidly dying out, and according to Matthew Wall, an intelligent farmer of this locality, several words which used to begin with *v* or *z*, now begin with *f* or *s*.

The north-eastern part of the county is worthy also to be considered as an independent variety of this dialect, taking in some consideration a certain amount of the words in its vocabulary.

I have visited, partly alone and partly with Mr. Pulman, of Crewkerne,¹ the southern portion of Somersetshire, and I agree entirely with him about the delimitation of the South Somersetshire variety, which belongs unquestionably to the South-western English Dialect. This variety shows a projection into Devonshire between the Axe and Dorsetshire, and two other projections into this last county: the one at its extreme north-eastern corner in the direction of Sherborne,² and the other at its extreme north-western corner about Chardstock. The South Somersetshire variety differs, as far as a mere variety can, both in vocabulary and phonetism, from the other variety of this county belonging to the same dialect.

But besides the four varieties—Central, Quantock-Parret, North-eastern, and Southern—I find two more in South Somersetshire: the one, west of the Parret, at Merriott, near Crewkerne; and the other a few miles further, east of the same river, at Montacute. I have been very fortunate in finding the desired words *utchy* and *utch* in the first of these localities, and *utch* or *us* at Montacute. The expressions *I will*, *I would*, *I went*, are rendered by *utchill*, *utchood*, *us went*. In

¹ Author of "Rustic Sketches; being Rhymes and 'Skits' on Angling and other Subjects in one of the South-western Dialects; with a copious Glossary, and General Remarks on Country Talk." Third edition. London, 1871. The district of the dialect is described as extending "from Yeovil to Axmouth, taking in a strip on each side of the South-western Railway and those portions of South-west Somerset, West Dorset, and Upper East Devon, which meet at a point in the Valley of the Axe, near Chard Junction," which Mr. Pulman speaks of as the Axe-Yarty district. The glossary extends from p. 75 to p. 162, and is exceptionally good.—A. J. E.

² In the map this projection is wrongly attributed to the Montacute variety. That is, it is made to proceed from the easternmost, instead of from the westernmost of the three black circles in the South of Somersetshire. The middle and eastern circles represent Merriott and Montacute, which are quite isolated varieties, whereas the westernmost circle represents the general South Somersetshire speech.

this last it is difficult, however, to decide if *us* is really for *utch*, or rather the plural *us* used instead of *we* or *I*; for *us went*, at Montacute, means both *I went* and *we went*. In Devonshire, *us* for *we* is common, but it is not so in the South-western Dialect generally; and it seems rather strange to find it used exceptionally in Montacute as in Devonshire.

I have neither been able to find the abbreviation *ch'* for *utchy* anywhere, nor to ascertain on the very spot if *ize*, *ise*, or *ees*, for *I*, are still in use in some parts of North Devonshire. About twenty years ago, I have been assured of the existence in Paracombe, of *ize* for *I* amongst a few very old people of that locality, or of the Exmoor Forest district generally; and this statement is confirmed by the frequent use of these forms by the author of the Exmoor Scolding, a very valuable little work, no more to be neglected in the study of the North Devonshire sub-dialect, to which the West Somersetshire variety belongs, than Tim Bobbin's speech is to be treated lightly by the inquirer of the South Lancashire. As to the use of *ize* for *I* in North Devonshire, I know a man who still maintains its existence about Bideford, his native place, but I can say nothing more on this subject.

I shall conclude these observations by stating :—

1. That I have found at Merriott a pronunciation differing both from that of Montacute, and the more general one of the South Somersetshire variety.

2. That, at Merriott, the *r* followed by a consonant, or at the end of a word, is quite weak and of a vocal nature, as in the standard English, but still differing from it.

3. That at Montacute I have heard the *r*, under the same circumstances, pronounced strongly as a Western *r*.

4. That *hem be* is in use at Merriott and Montacute for the more general *he be*, a fact which rather favours the opinion that the *us* in *us went* for *I went* or *we went*, heard at the last village, is not, after all, for *utch*.

5. That *I talks* for *I talk*, and *hem talk* for *he talks*, are common in both localities.

6. That *her* for *she*, *mow* for *to mow something*, and other characters either of the South Somersetshire variety or of the South-western Dialect generally, are also to be found at Merriott and Montacute.

- 7, and lastly. That the total absence of the sound resembling the French *u*, and that of *talketh* for *talks*, *theckey* for *thick*, *er* for *he*, etc., is to be noticed in these two villages as well as in the Southern, Central, and North-eastern varieties of the county of Somerset.

AN EARLY ENGLISH HYMN
TO THE VIRGIN

(FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

AND A

WELSHMAN'S PHONETIC COPY OF IT SOON AFTER:

PRINTED FROM

TWO MSS OF THE HENGWRT COLLECTION

(BY LEAVE OF WM. W. E. WYNNE, ESQ., OF PENIARTH)

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL,

(MARCH, 1880)

TOGETHER WITH

Notes on the *Welsh* Phonetic Copy

BY

ALEX. J. ELLIS, F.R.S.,

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An Early English Hymn to the Virgin.

[*Hengwrt MS. 479, leaf 38.*]

(1)

O mightie Ladie, our leading / to haue
 at heaven, our abiding,
 vnto the feaste euerlasting
 is sette a branche vs to bring. 4

(2)

You wanne this with blisse, the blessing / of God
 for your good abearing
 where you bent for your winning ;
 since queene, & your sonne is king. 8

(3)

Our forefaders fader, our feeding / our pope,
 on your pappes had sucking :
 in heaven blisse I had this thing,
 attendaunce without ending. 12

(4)

We seene the bright queene with cunning / & blisse
 the blossome fruite bearing :
 I would, as ould as I sing,
 winne your loue, on your lavinge. 16

(5)

Queene odde of our God, our guiding / moder,
 mayden notwithstandinge :
 who wed such with a rich ring,
 as God woud this good wedding. 20

(6)

Helpe vs pray for vs preferring / our soules ;
 assoile vs at ending !
 make all that we fall to ffig
 your sonnes live, our sinnes leaving. 24

A Welshman's Copy of the Hymn.

[*Hengwrt MS. 294, page 287.*]

(1)

O michdi¹ ladi: our leding // to haf
 at hefn owr abeiding
 yntw ddei ffest everlasting [p. 288]
 i set a braynts ws tw bring./ 4

(2)

Yw wann ddys wyth blyss dde blessing // of God
 ffor ywr gwd abering
 hwier yw bynn ffor ywr wyning
 syns kwin and ywr synn ys king./ 8

(3)

Owr fforffaddyrs ffaddyr, owr ffiding // owr pop
 on ywr paps had swking
 Yn hefn blyss i had ddys thing
 atendans wythowt ending./ 12

(4)

Wi sin dde bricht kwin wyth kwning // and blys
 the blossom ffrvwt bering
 ei wowl'd as owld as ei sing
 wynn ywr lyf on ywr laving 16

(5)

Kwin od off owr god owr geiding // mwddyr
 maedyn notwythstanding
 hw wed syts wyth a ryts ring
 as god wad ddys gwd weding 20

(6)

Help ws prae for ws prefferring // owr sowls
 asoel ws at ending
 mak awl ddat wi ffawl tw ffig
 ywr synns lyf owr syns leving./ 24

¹ The Rubricator has corrected the copyist's *t* of *michti* to *d*.

(7)

As we may the day of dying / receiue [leaf 38, back]
 our in-housling ;
 as he may take vs, waking,
 to him in his mightie wing. 28

(8)

Might hit tooke / me ought to tell,
 out soules of hell / to soiles of sight.
 wee aske with booke / wee wishe with bell,
 to heaven full well / to haue our flight, 32
 all deedes well done,
 t'abide *deo* boone,
 a god made trone,
 a good meete wright ; 36
 and say so soone,
 and north and noone,
 and sunne & moone,
 & so none might. 40

(9)

as soone as pride / is nowe supprest,
 his seale is best / his soule is pight : 42
 I tell to you,
 as some doe showe,
 as nowe I trowe,
 we vse not right. 46
 a boy with his bowe,
 his lookes is slowe :
 howe may [you] knowe
 him from a knight ? 50

(10)

The trueth is kitte / that earth is cast ;
 the endes be last / the handes be light.
 O god sette it / good as it was, [leaf 39]
 the rule doth passe / the worlde hath pight.¹ 54

¹ I suppose the 8-line stanza, l. 59—66, should follow here.

(7)

As wi mae dde dae off owr deing // resef [p. 289]
 owr saviowr yn howsling
 as hi mae tak ws waking
 tw hym yn hys nichti wing / 28

(8)

Micht hyt twk // mi ocht tw tel ///
 owt sols off hel /// tw soels off hicht :/
 wi aish wyth bwk // wi wish wyth bel ///
 tw hefn ffwl wel /// tw haf on flicht./ 32
 Al¹ dids wel dywn //
 tabyd deo bwn //
 a god mad trwn //
 a gwd met wricht 36
 and se so swm //
 and north and nwn //
 and synn an mwn //
 and so non micht./ 40

(9)

As swm as preid // ys now syprest
 hys sel ys best // his sol ys picht 42
 E I tel tw yo //
 as synn dwth shio //
 as now ei tro //
 wi vws not richt 46
 a boy withs bo //
 hys lokes is s[l]o² //
 how mae yw kno //
 hym ffrom a knight 50

(10)

Dde trvwith ys kyt // ddat yerth ys kast // [p. 290]
 dde ends bi last // dde hands bi licht./
 o God set yt // gwd as yt was //
 dde rvwl dwth pass // dde world hath picht. 54

¹ MS. Awl, with *w* underdotted.² a later *l* is overlined.

(11)

A prettie thing / we pray to thest,	
that good behest / that god behight.	
& he was ffiging / into his feaste	
that euer shall lest / with diuerse light.	58
The world away /	
is done as day,	
it is no nay /	
it is nighe night.	62
as ould, I say,	
I was in fay ;	
yelde a good may,	
would God I might.	66
Aware we would,	
the sinnes we sould,	
& be not hould	
in a bant highte.	70
And young & ould,	
with him they hould,	
the Iewes has sould,	
that Jesus highte.	74

(12)

O trusti Criste / that werst y crowne,	
ere wee die downe / a readie dight,	76
to thanke to thee	
at te roode tree,	
then went all wee,	
they nowe to light.	80
to graunt agree,	
amen with mee,	
that I may see	
thee to my sight.	84

(11)

A preti thing // wi prae to thest //	
ddat gwd bi-hest // ddat God bihicht //	
and hi was ffig // yntw hys ffest //	
ddat ever shal lest // wyth deivers licht./	58
dde world away //	
ys dynn as day //	
yt ys no nay //	
yt is nei nicht /	62
as owld ei say //	
ei was yn ffay //	
eild a gwd may //	
wld God ei nicht /	66
Awar wi wowld //	
dde syns ddey sowld //	
an ¹ bi not howld //	
in a bant hicht./	70
and ywng and owld //	
wyth hym ddei howld //	
dde Dsivws ² has sowld //	
ddat Dsiesws hicht /	74

(12)

O trysti Kreist // ddat werst a krown //	
er wi dei down // a redi dieht	76
Tw thank tw ddi //	
at dde rwd tri //	[p. 291]
dden went all wi //	
ddey now tw licht./	80
tw grawnt agri //	
amen wyth mi //	
ddat ei mae si //	
ddi two mei sicht./	84

¹ and, with *d* underdotted.² first *Dsiews* in MS.

(13)

Our lucke, our king / our locke, our key,
 my God I pray / my guide vpriht.
 I seeke, I sing / I shake, I say, [leaf 39, back]
 I weare away / a werie wight. 90
 ageinst I goe /
 my frendes me fro ;
 I found a foe /
 with fende I fight : 94
 I sing allso /
 in welth & woe ;
 I can no moe /
 to queene of might. 98

Jeuan ap Rydderch ap Jeuan lloyd ai kant.
*medd eraill Jeuan ap howeH Swrdwal.*¹

¹ That is, "Jeuan ap Rydderch ap Jeuan Lloyd sang it, according to another, Jeuan ap Howel Swrdwal." Meaning, that Jeuan ap Rydderch, &c., or Jeuan ap Howel, &c., was author of the poem.

These were well known Bards of the 15th century. The former was a member of the greatest family in Cardiganshire, now represented by Sir Pryse Pryse, Bart.—*Wm. W. E. Wynne.*

(13)

Owr lwk owr king //	owr lok owr kae ///	
mei God ei prae //	mi geid ¹ vpricht./	
ei sîk ei sing //	ei shak ² ei sae ///	
ei wer awae ///	a wiri wicht./	90
agaynst ei go //		
mei ffrynds mi ffro //		
ei ffownd a ffo //		
	wyth ffynd ei ffricht	94
ei sing also //		
yn welth and wo //		
ei kan no mo //		
	tw kwin off micht /	98

¹ ? y alterd to v.² shiak, *with h underdotted*.

NOTES ON THE WELSH PHONETIC COPY.

BY ALEX. J. ELLIS, F.R.S.

THE Welsh phonetic transcription of this hymn must have been made either very late in the xvth or early in the xvi th century. It must be compared with Salesbury's accounts of English (1547) & Welsh pronunciation (1567), the essential parts of which are reprinted and where need is, translated in my Early English Pronunciation, Part III., pp. 743—794. It appears from those books that the sounds of the Welsh letters in the early xvth century was the same as at present, except that *y* which has now two sounds, approaching to *u*, *i* in our *but*, *bit*, had at that time only the latter sound, both long and short, and this differs in practice imperceptibly from the sound of the Welsh *u*. The following are therefore the sounds to be attributed to the letters in this transcription. The vowels are to be read either long or short.

A, *father*, *past*, rather fine. AI, AY, *aye*. AE rather broader than *ay*; all three AI, AY, AE, are nearly German AI. B, *b*. C is not used in the poem, in modern Welsh it is *k*. CH, the guttural, as in Scotch and German. D, *d*. DD, as *th* in *they*, *breathe*. E, *there*, *then*. EI, *height*. F, *v*. FF, *f*. G, *g*. H, *h*. I, *heed*, but often confused with *hid*, which has generally *y*. IE occurs only in *hwier*, and may be an error for *hwer*; it should sound like *wheer*, and *weer* is now found in Shropshire. K, *k*, used generally, as also in Salesbury. KW, *qu*, as in Salesbury. L, *l*. M, *m*. N, *n*. NG, *ng*. O, *open*, *on*, or nearly so. OU, a diphthong resembling *how*, but having a more decided

sound of *o* in it. OE, *joy*. P, *p*. R, *r*, but always trilled. S, *s*, always sharp, never *z*, which does not occur in Welsh, hence of course *s* is used for both *s* and *z*. SI before a vowel is used to indicate the sound of *sh*, and TSI = *tsh* is used for *chest*, and DSI = *dsh* for *jest*; Salesbury uses only TSI, and says it is as like the true sounds as pewter to silver, the sounds *ch j* do not occur in Welsh; at the end of a word *ts* is used for *branch*, where Salesbury uses *iss*. TH, *thin* breath as distinct from DD. U, the Welsh sound is not used in the transcription except in the diphthong *uw*, written *vw*. Salesbury identifies U with French *u*, and seems to use *uw* for the same sound, whether or not

with a sound of *oo* after it, it may be difficult to say; I think not. V, *v*, is sometimes used, as in Salesbury, but is always replaced by *f* in modern Welsh. W, *too*, *hood*, always a vowel, but forming a diphthong with the following vowel, and then very like

English *w* and used for it. WY, *with*; Y, always a vowel, but used both for consonant and vowel in rich written *ryts*. YW in modern Welsh is ambiguous, but is here always used for *yoo*.

The pronunciation thus given agrees as a rule with Salesbury's, which it confirms. But there are clearly some errors, though it is difficult to say who is to blame for them. In the following I give the number of the line, the present reading in Roman, and the probable in Italics.

1 *michdi*, *michti*. 2 *our*, *ovr*; see 2. 3 *yntw*, *wntw*; 57 *yntw* is properly used for *into*. 4 *i*, *is*. 7 *hwier*, *hver*? bynn, *bent*? 8 synn, *swn*. 11 *i*, *ei*. 14 *the*, *dde*. 16 *lyf*, *lwf*. 17 *kwinod*, *kwinwd* = queenhood? 19 *syts*, *swts*, meaning *söch* as Gill marks it, but *sich* may be right, as there may have been two sounds. 20 *wad*, *world*; see v. 15? 24 synns, *swns*; see v. 8. 25 *deing*, *deing*. 30 *sols*, *sowls*; *licht*, *sicht*. 31 *aish*, *aish*; *sh* must be an error for *sk* because *sh* is not found in Welsh; *ask* occurs in Gill, but *aish* may have been intended, as Salesbury writes *ai* for *a* in several words. 32 *on*, *ovr*. 33 *dywn*, *dwn*. 34

tabyd, *tabeyd* = *t'abide*. 39 synn, *swnn*. 41 *syprest*, *swprest*. 42 *sol*, *sowl*. 43 *EI*, *EL*. 44 synn, *swm*; *shio*, *sio*, in 89 *siakh* was once wrongly written. 51 *yerth*, *erth*; the sound *yerth* is possible but highly dialectal; we find now in Shropshire *yar* = hair, *yarb* = herb, *yerth* = earth, *yed* = head, *yep* = heap, and this county may have been the model for a Welshman's English at that time. 60 *dynn*, *dwn*. 65 *eild*, *ield*. 66 *wld*, *world*; see v. 15 and 67, but it may be used for *wld* = *wöld*, as *w* disappears before a following *w* in Welsh, see 66 *wld*. 84 *two*, *tw*, 86 *vpriht*, *wpriht*. 94 *ffriht*, *fficht*.

As to the pronunciation marked there is nothing out of the way, if we suppose those *y*'s just noted to be errors for *w*.

75 Kreist, giving the modern pronunciation of Christ, is curious; I have no other xvi th century authority for this word. Observe the guttural CH in 1, 28, *michti*; 30, 84 *sicht*; 29 *ocht*; 36 *wriht*; 40, 66 *micht*; 42, 54 *picht*; 50 *knight*; 52, 58 *licht*; 56 *beicht*; 62 *nicht*; 76 *dicht*; 88 *wpriht*, 90 *wicht*. The KN in 49 *kno*; 50 *knight*, and WR in 36 *wriht*. TH in 12 *wythowt*; 13 *wyth*; 47 *withs*, but DD in 3, 72 *ddei*; 5, 11, 20 *ddys*; 9 *fforffaddyrs* *ffaddyrs*; 13, 25, 51, 52, 54, 59, &c., *dde*; 17 *mwddyr*; 23, 51, 56, 58 *ddat*; 68, 80 *ddey*; 77 *ddi*; 79 *dden*. For the vowels, observe E in 1 *leding*; 36 *met* = *meet*

proper; 42 *sel* = *seal*. The Y in 92 *ffrynds*, and 94 *ffynd* = *fiend*; Salesbury and Gill have *frinds*, but Salesbury has apparently *fend*, as he cites that as example of *e* having the Welsh sound. The Y in 75 *trysti* = *trusty* agrees with Salesbury who identifies it with Welsh *u*. The W in 4 *ws*, 10 *swking*, 17 *mwddyr*, is regular, as also in 20 *gwd*, 23, 28 *tw*, 29 *twk*, 54 *dwth* (whence 33 *dywn* should be *dwn*), and long in 34 *bwn*, 37 *swn*, 38 *nwn*, 39 *mwyn*, 78 *rwd*; and in 35 *trwn* = *throne*, we have Salesbury's sound. VW in 14 *ffrwt* = *fruit*; 46 *vws* = *use*; 51 *trwvth*; 54 *rvwl*; 73 *Dsiwvs* represents, I believe,

French *u*; see above and Early English Pronunciation, Part I, pp. 164—8. The present Welsh sound of *Duw* is scarcely distinguishable by an Englishman from English *den*, but Welshmen profess to hear and make a difference. Among the diphthongs, AI or AY in 4 braynts = branch, 31 ask = ask, is borne out by Salesbury's *domaige*, *heritaige*, *languaige*, *aishe*, *waitche*, and *oreintsys* = oranges. AE, AI, AY, EI, EY, are identified, and had the sound of *aye*; compare 18 *maedyn*; 25, 27 *mae*; 65 *may*; 25 *dae* = day; 85 *kae* = key; 89 *sae*, and 63 *say*; 90 *awae*; 21, 88 *prae*; 64 *ffay*; 91 *agaynst*; 68, 80 *ddey*, and 72 *ddei*; 75 *Kreist*. This illustrates the identification of EI, AI in Chaucer. The OW in 15 *owld*; 68 *sowld*; 69 *howld* = hold, is quite regular; it is curious in 15, 67 *wowld*, which Gill and Sir T. Smith give as *wōöld*; compare 66 *wld*; and quite unexpected in 26 *saviowr*, which may be an error for *savirr*, the older form, or *savior*, as Gill would probably have had it; or it may be some artificial solemn utterance; the word is not found in the original English version.

Altogether this phonetic writing is a very interesting document, and the errors in it are not more than are commonly met with in the phonetic writing of persons who are not used to it. The general character that it gives to the pronunciation is no doubt quite correct.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS.

27 July 1880.

GEORGE ELIOT'S USE OF DIALECT.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

[Read before the Manchester Literary Club, January 24, 1881.]

A LITERARY form may be given to the dialectal words and expressions that constitute the folk-speech of a district either from a scientific or from an artistic motive. When Prince Lucien Bonaparte caused the Song of Solomon to be translated into various dialects, his purpose was purely scientific. When Shakspeare, Scott, or

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sae, and 63 say; 90 awae; 21, 88 prae; 64 ffay; 91 agaynst; 68, 80 ddey, and 72 ddei; 75 Kreist. This illustrates the identification of EI, AI in Chaucer. The OW in 15 owld; 68 sowld; 69 howld = hold, is quite regular; it is curious in 15, 67 wowld, which Gill and Sir T. Smith give as wōld; compare 66 wld; and quite unexpected in 26 saviowr, which may be an error for *saviv*, the older form, or *savior*, as Gill would probably have had it; or it may be some artificial solemn utterance; the word is not found in the original English version.

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ALEXANDER J. ELLIS.

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ERRATA.

- p. 34, col. 2, l. 9 from bottom, *for* do not occur, *read* not occurring.
- p. 35, col. 2, l. 3 from top, *for* vowel in rich, *read* vowel, as in rich.
- p. 35, col. 2, l. 2 of second paragraph in double columns, *for* 43 EI, *read* 43 E I.
- p. 35, col. 2, l. 5 of second paragraph in double columns, *for* wrongly written, *read* wrongly written with *sh*.
- p. 35, col. 2, l. 2 from bottom of second paragraph in double columns, *omit* see 66 wld.

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engaged in the free and unconstrained talk of the workshop, not only vary in the degree in which they use dialectal expressions, but there is a certain individuality in their way of employing it which marks them off from each other. That George Eliot fully appreciated the value of dialect is shown in the complacent speech of Mr. Carson, the host of the "Donnithorne Arms:"

I'm not this countryman you may tell by my tongue, sir; they're cur'ous talkers i' this country, sir; the gentry's hard work to hunderstand 'em. I was brought hup among the gentry, sir, an' got the turn o' their tongue when I was a bye. Why, what do you think the folks here says for "hev'nt you?"—the gentry you know says "hev'nt you:" well, the people about here says "hanna yey." Its what they call the dileck as is spoke hereabout, sir. That's what I've heard Squire Donnithorne say many a time; "its the dileck," says he.

This delightful passage is suggestive in many ways. The ignorance of Carson is perhaps less due to self-complacency than to want of intellectual grasp, especially in so unaccustomed a field of mental inquiry. The difference between his speech and that of his neighbours has struck him as an interesting phenomenon, but his effort to ascertain the causes of the variance only results in his accepting as a solution what is only a restatement of the problem in a to him scholastic and authoritative form. When Squire Donnithorne says that the country people speak a dialect, he merely tells Carson in an unaccustomed phrase a fact which the former butler's perceptive powers have already ascertained. Carson, however, contentedly accepts the mere word as the key of the mystery. In this he probably resembles many other arrested inquirers who deceive themselves by juggling with mere words, and who fancy they have found effectual answers, when in point of fact they have merely restated momentous problems in unfamiliar words. Carson's perceptive faculty, although equal to noting the broader discrepancies between his own fashion of speaking and that of the rustics around him, is

incapable of discriminating between his own style and that of the gentry amongst whom "he was brought up." The departure from conventional English is in this case a note of *caste*. The English gentry as a body have a flavour of public school education and university culture, and yet their household dependants speak in another tongue. The drawing-room and the servants' hall have each their own vocabulary and grammar, and a philological gulf is fixed between the two, though one might at least suppose that the yawning chasm would easily be bridged over by a little educational effort on either side.

With the reticence of genius George Eliot obtains her effects with the slightest possible expenditure of material. She contrives to give the impression of provincial speech without importing any great number of unfamiliar words into the text. Thus old Joshua Rann stands before us a pronounced Mercian, although not a dozen of his words are unknown to the dictionary :—

"Humbly begging your honour's pardon," said Joshua, bowing low, "there was one thing I had to say to his reverence as other things had drove out o' my head."

"Out with it, Joshua, quickly," said Mr. Irwine.

"Belike, sir, you havena heard as Thias Bede's dead — drowned this morning, or more like overnight, i' the Willow Brook, again' the bridge, right i' front o' the house."

"Ah!" exclaimed both the gentlemen at once, as if they were a good deal interested in the information.

"An' Seth Bede's been to me this morning to say he wished me to tell your reverence as his brother Adam begged of you particular t' allow his father's grave to be dug by the White Thorn, because his mother's set her heart on it on account of a dream as she had; an' they'd ha' come theirselves to ask you, but they've so much to see after with the crowner, an' that; an' their mother's took on so, an' wants 'em to make sure o' the spot for fear somebody else should take it. An' if your reverence sees well an' good, I'll send my boy to tell 'em as soon as I get home; an' that's why I make bold to trouble you wi' it, his honour being present."

"To be sure, Joshua, to be sure, they shall have it. I'll ride round to Adam myself, and see him. Send your boy, however, to say that they shall have the grave, lest anything should happen to detain me. And now, good morning, Joshua; go into the kitchen and have some ale."

The same method may be seen in the fine portrait of Mrs. Poyser. That emphatic housekeeper thus objurgates the faithful "Molly":—

"Spinning, indeed! It isn't spinning as you'd be at, I'll be bound, and let you have your own way. I never knew your equals for gallowsness. To think of a gell o' your age wanting to go and sit with half-a-dozen men! I'd ha' been ashamed to let the words pass over my lips if I'd been you. And you, as have been here ever since last Michaelmas, and I hired you at Treddles'on stattets, without a bit o' character—as I say, you might be grateful to be hired in that way to a respectable place; and you knew no more o' what belongs to work when you come here than the mawkin o' the field. As poor a two-fisted thing as ever I saw, you know you was. Who taught you to scrub a floor, I should like to know? Why, you'd leave the dirt in heaps i' the corners--anybody 'ud think you'd never been brought up among Christians. And as for spinning, why you've wasted as much as your wage i' the flax you've spoiled learning to spin. And you've a right to feel that, and not to go about as gaping and as thoughtless as if you was beholding to nobody. Comb the wool for the whittaws, indeed! That's what you'd like to be doing is it? That's the way with you—that's the road you'd all like to go, headlong to ruin. You're never easy till you've got some sweetheart as is as big a fool as yourself; you think you'll be finely off when you're married, I daresay, and have got a three-legged stool to sit on, and never a blanket to cover you, and a bit o' oatcake for your dinner as three children are a-snatching at."

Yet George Eliot does use words that have not found the sanctuary of the dictionary, although the horns of its altar have been grasped by greater lingual offenders. Amongst these we name, at random, the following:—Curchey, chapellin, overrun (run away), dawnin' (morning), nattering, plash, coxy, queechy, franzy, megrim, fettle. It is needless to attempt a complete list, as George Eliot's dialect words appear to be all included in the *Leicestershire Glossary** of Dr. Evans, who states that "None of the Leicestershire writers are so rich in illustrations of the Leicestershire dialect as Shakspeare and Drayton; while in our own time by far its best literary exponent is the Warwickshire author of *Adam Bede* and *Middlemarch*." A writer in the *Quarterly Review* (October, 1860), amongst

* *Leicestershire Words, Phrases, and Proverbs*, by the late A. B. Evans, D.D. Edited by Sebastian Evans, LL.D. (English Dialect Society, 1881.)

some unjust criticism, bears testimony to the excellence of her presentation of folk-speech.

Thus the most serious characters make the most solemn and most pathetic speeches in provincial dialect and ungrammatical constructions, although it must be allowed that the authoress has not ventured so far in this way as to play with the use and abuse of the aspirate. And her dialect appears to be very carefully studied, although we may doubt whether the Staffordshire provincialisms of *Clerical Life* and *Adam Bede* are sufficiently varied when the scene is shifted in the latest book to the Lincolnshire side of the Humber. But where a greater variation than that between one midland dialect and another is required, George Eliot's conscientiousness is very curiously shown. There is in *Mr. Gilfil's Story* a gardener of the name of Bates, who is described as a Yorkshireman; and in *Adam Bede* there is another gardener, Mr. Craig, whose name would naturally indicate a Scotchman. Each of these horticulturists is introduced into the dialogue, and of course the reader would naturally think one to talk Yorkshire and the other to talk some Scotch. But the authoress apparently did not feel herself mistress of either Scotch or Yorkshire to such a degree as would have warranted her in attempting them; and, therefore, before her characters are allowed to open their mouths, she, in each case, is careful to tell us that we must moderate our expectations: "Mr. Bates's lips were of a peculiar cut, and I fancy this had something to do with the peculiarity of his dialect, which, as we shall see, was individual rather than provincial." "I think it was Mr. Craig's pedigree only that had the advantage of being Scotch, and not his 'bringing up,' for except that he had a stronger burr in his accent, his speech differed little from that of the Loamshire people around him."

The reviewer's *dicta* are open to some objection alike as to fact and deduction. Mr. Casson, for instance, both uses and abuses the aspirate in his utterances, and the amount of literary material both in "Scotch" and "Yorkshire" would easily have enabled her to become familiar with the general character and structure of those forms of speech. Surely this would have been a small matter compared to her resurrection of a dead age of Italian history.

Whatever uncertainty may have existed as to the varieties of our English folk-speech uttered by the characters of George Eliot must be set at rest by a letter to Professor Skeat, in which George Eliot has expounded her own theories as to the artistic use of dialect.* She says:

* English Dialect Society: Bibliographical List, Part I., 1873, p. viii.

"It must be borne in mind that my inclination to be as close as I could to the rendering of dialect, both in words and spelling, was constantly checked by the artistic duty of being generally intelligible." This, it will be seen, is the chief distinction between the scientific method which addresses either philological experts or a public—however small—thoroughly familiar with the dialect itself. "But for that check," continues George Eliot, "I should have given a stronger colour to the dialogue in *Adam Bede*, which is modelled on the talk of North Staffordshire and the neighbouring part of Derbyshire. The spelling, being determined by my own ear alone, was necessarily a matter of anxiety, for it would be as possible to quarrel about it as about the spelling of Oriental names. The district imagined as the scene of *Silas Marner* is in North Warwickshire; but here, and in all my other presentations of life except *Adam Bede*, it has been my intention to give the general physiognomy rather than a close portraiture of the provincial speech as I have heard it in the Midland or Mercian region. It is a just demand that art should keep clear of such specialities as would make it a puzzle for the larger part of its public; still one is not bound to respect the lazy obtuseness or snobbish ignorance of people who do not care to know more of their native tongue than the vocabulary of the drawing-room and the newspaper." This last sentence may be commended alike to those who write in any dialect and to those superfine critics who have not skill to discern the difference between provincial words and mere vulgarisms.

It may be asked why Dinah Morris, the saintly Methodist woman preacher, although on the same social and educational plane as the dialect-speaking characters of *Adam Bede*, is rarely represented as employing any provincial words or phrases. The reason is that such intensely

religious natures nurturing mind and soul upon the pure English of the Bible have their entire diction permeated by the influence of its words, which have always a certain dignity and sometimes the truest grandeur and poetic force. Elizabeth Evans, the original of Dinah Bede, has left an autobiography extending over several pages, and this narrative though highly charged with religious fervour contains only one word that can be regarded as unfamiliar to conventional English.* There is another reason why George Eliot would have been justified in not putting dialect words into the mouth of her fair saint. When we see any one possessed of and possessed by a spirit of intense religious earnestness and seeking for the good of others, we do not notice the strange or uncouth fashion in which their message may be delivered. The accidents of speech and manner are burned up like dross in the fire of their zeal, and only the real gold is left behind. Their mannerisms, whether of action or of speech, do not affect us and are unnoticed. We are not conscious of this or that imperfect form of words, but hear only that higher language in which soul calls to soul.

* How far Elizabeth Evans was the original of Dinah Morris may be seen from George Eliot's letter to Miss Hennell. (*Pall Mall Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1881.) The likeness between the two had been pointed out by "Guy Roslyn," who gives an abstract of her autobiography. It is remarkable that the incident of the "Face crowned thorns" is not mentioned in it, although it forms so important a part both in the story of Dinah Morris and in George Eliot's own account of her aunt. The provincialism alluded to above is in the sentence: "Earth was a *scale* to heaven." The word is not glossed by Dr. Evans. There is a portrait of Elizabeth Evans in *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1881.

POSTSCRIPT.—For bibliographical particulars the reader is referred to "George Eliot: a Bibliography," by Charles W. Sutton (Papers of the Manchester Literary Club, vol. vii., 1881). *The Scenes of Clerical Life* were printed in 1857; *Adam Bede* in 1859; *The Mill on the Floss* in 1860; *Silas Marner* in 1861; *Felix Holt the Radical* in 1866; and *Middlemarch* in 1871. The most convenient form in which to have George Eliot's writings is the Cabinet Edition issued by Messrs. Blackwood & Sons in 1878-79, and extending to nineteen volumes. It may be regarded as a definitive edition.

REPORT ON DIALECTAL WORK.

By ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S.

[*Read before the Philological Society, 7 May 1886.*]

At last I have the satisfaction of announcing substantial progress in the preparation of my account of the Existing Phonology of the English Dialects, forming Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*. I had, as you are aware from my former reports, distributed English Dialects into six principal Divisions, Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern, and Lowland Scotch. The nomenclature is entirely geographical, for the purpose of avoiding any reference to an historical, which would be mainly a theoretical location of the dialects. Such divisions would be liable to shift. I aim at something permanent, by simply assigning the localities where different modes of speech actually prevail. The record which I wish to furnish will therefore have a value for all time, as the best which, with the assistance of very many co-workers, could be produced for the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Now of these six divisions, three are practically completed, and I produce the MS. The third or Eastern division wants a week's work, which could not be accomplished in time for this meeting. When I say that these three divisions are completed, I mean that in the first draft they are ready for press. Of course a very strict and careful revision will be necessary, to reduce the whole to one consistent plan, and not only to curtail redundancies, but possibly to diminish the great bulk by omitting some points which although interesting are of minor importance. The temptations for excursions are very great and very frequent. I have attempted to avoid unnecessary details as much as possible, and to recollect that much which is interesting to myself, to whom each spot has a history, often a very lengthy one extending over weeks, months, and even years, will probably possess but slight attraction for the user of my book, who wants to pick out the results with the least possible trouble and cares little or nothing about the way in which they were obtained.

The extent of territory which these divisions occupy is shewn in the accompanying maps [these are here omitted because they cannot be published till the book is completed], which I shall explain presently, but as they have had to be drawn very hastily, so late as this afternoon, there must be numerous inaccuracies, and they are only intended to give you a general idea of my distribution of phonetic dialects into districts. In my book all the boundaries are carefully detailed. But before entering upon the results shewn by my map, I wish to explain the method of work by which these results have been obtained and co-ordinated.

METHOD OF WORK.

The first part of my *Early English Pronunciation* was published in Feb. 1869. In discussing the xivth century sound of I, Y in that part, I had been obliged to refer to dialectal pronunciation, and on p. 277 note 1 of E.E.P. I mention the names of several gentlemen who had supplied me with information. Among them I stated that a lady near Norwich had helped me. This was the beginning of my dialectal work, and as it occurred in 1868, I have really already spent 17½ years in gathering materials. The lady at Norwich, Miss Cecilia Day, daughter of the then rector of Kirby Bedon, near Norwich, dictated to me a series of Nf.¹ words at the meeting of the British Association there in 1868, which were the first pieces of dialect that I attempted to write from actual audition. But even then I had very little conception of the difficulties of the task which have grown upon me year by year as I found the necessity of greater accuracy. Among the list of helpers there mentioned I find the name of Mr. Thomas Hallam, who had already for some time occupied himself with phonetic researches especially in relation to the dialects of his native county, Db. Mr. Hallam subsequently made himself master of my system of writing called palaeotype, which he writes with extreme care and accuracy, and I need scarcely say that with his phonetic knowledge, his power to enter into conversation with labourers without frightening them into refinements of speech, and his many journeys over all parts of m. and s. England, and the great liberality with which he has put his notes at my disposition, he has been a mainstay to my work. Even during last Easter holidays, leaving home on the Thursday and returning the following Monday, 26th April, he explored for me the ne. part of Np., e. and w. of Peterborough, s. of Rt. and

¹ The names of counties being very lengthy and cumbrous will be generally abridged to the initial and one other letter in the word. Thus for the English and such of the Welsh counties as are here mentioned, I write Bd. Bedfordshire, Be. Berkshire, Br. Brecknockshire, Bu. Buckinghamshire, Cb. Cambridgeshire, Ch. Cheshire, Cm. Carmarthenshire, Co. Cornwall, Cu. Cumberland, Db. Derby, Dn. Denbighshire, Do. Dorsetshire, Dv. Devonshire, Es. Essex, Fl. Flintshire, Gl. Gloucestershire, Gm. Glamorganshire, Ha. Hampshire, He. Herefordshire, Ht. Hertfordshire, Hu. Huntingdonshire, Ke. Kent, La. Lancaster, Le. Leicestershire, Li. Lincolnshire, Ma. Isle of Man, Mg. Montgomeryshire, Mi. Middlesex, Mo. Monmouthshire, Nb. Northumberland, Nf. Norfolk, Np. Northamptonshire, Nt. Nottinghamshire, Ox. Oxfordshire, Pm. Pembrokeshire, Rd. Radnorshire, Rt. Rutlandshire, Sc. Scilly Isles, Sf. Suffolk, Sh. Shropshire, Sm. Somerset, Sr. Surrey, Ss. Sussex, St. Staffordshire, Wa. Warwickshire, We. Westmoreland, Wi. Isle of Wight, Wl. Wiltshire, Wo. Worcestershire, Yo. York. Similar abbreviations for all other counties, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish. The points of the compass are abbreviated to n.e.w.s. with m. mid, and their usual combinations. In the names of Districts and Divisions, I use: B. border, D. district, E. east or eastern, L. Lowland Scotch, M. mid or midland, N. north or northern, S. south or southern, W. west or western.

The following abbreviations are regularly used in the report as they will be in the book: cs. comparative specimen, div. division, dt. dialect test, pal. palaeotype-d, pron. pronunciation, rec. received, sp. speech, vv. vivâ voce, wl. word list, wn. words noted, Ws. Wessex or West Saxon.

n. of Cb., a district hitherto unexamined, and furnished me with carefully-arranged details, without which I could not have satisfactorily completed my account of the E. div. In the same way he has most kindly filled up numerous blanks by personal observations, which I could not possibly have made myself, and has hence enabled me to map out the country with some degree of completeness. But I am anticipating.

At first I tried collecting such words as were spontaneously offered. But dialect workers, and indeed some philologists, have a strange propensity, due no doubt to our singular orthography, to distinguish a word from its sound. A word with them is a collection of letters which more or less—oftener less than more—suggests the sound to themselves, very roughly, and to others still more roughly or not at all. These letter-groups are then registered, and if they indicate mere mispronunciations, as they are very incorrectly deemed, they are treated with scant courtesy and excluded generally from glossaries. It was therefore difficult to persuade people that what I wanted was not such dialectal words as are not used in received speech, but those very mispronunciations that they so contemptuously rejected. Few could realise the fact that what I wanted was the different phases in each part of the country of words common to all parts. I then tried manuscript lists of words, which soon became intolerable. So Dr. Murray and myself in Sept. 1873 concocted a ‘comparative specimen’ (cs.), containing, so far as we then knew, all words likely to be useful. I have had the satisfaction of hearing from nearly all parts of the country that “our folks don’t speak so.” Of course that was intentional. Literary English was adopted, and it was hoped the translator would put it into dialectal English. However this was a task my informants could not accomplish, with rare exceptions. And it is curious with what an instinct many of those who attempted the versions (and I got more than 150 of them) managed to avoid the words or phrases I particularly wanted and put in others which were comparatively useless. Still this was the nucleus of my work. I found however that this cs. was too long. It took two or three hours for me to write from dictation, and I am really surprised that I got so many valuable versions.

Next in Sept. 1877 I got out ‘word lists’ (wl.), adopting the order and etymologies in Mr. Sweet’s ‘History of British Sounds,’ for I saw that the only way of comparing words was to refer them where possible to these Ws. forms and not by the present promiscuous orthography. I sent out 1650 of these wl. and of 1150 I heard nothing more, though all were stamped for return, and 186 were sent back blank. Of the remaining 314 only 54 were very good, 82 good, 70 middling, which accounts for 206, and the rest were nowhere. Still these lists have been serviceable in many ways, and even the worst filled served in some degree to shew a continuity of pronunciation heard elsewhere. But to fill up one of these lists from dictation, even in the most rapid manner, took two to four hours, and in order to get any result at all, the half loaf

that is better than no bread, I was often obliged to be content with a comparatively few selected words. And, after all, disconnected words presented unexpected difficulties, and my informants had often to think them back into phrases before they could give the sounds. The plan of numbering the sounds which I had introduced to save a systematic orthography, proved to be quite unintelligible to most people, who could only indicate sounds, each in his own, usually unexplained and often inexplicable, manner.

This led me in Jan. 1879 to devise my 'dialect test' (dt.), which contained only 76 different words separately numbered, and had long notes attached referring to each, stating the points to be attended to, and pointing out for each particular case how the required sound might be indicated. I sent out between 600 and 700 of these, all with stamps for return, and I never heard more of 429, while 61 were returned blank. I suspect I must have been found a great bore, and am only too grateful to those ladies and gentlemen who did take the trouble to answer me.

Besides all these I obtained and continue to obtain from Mr. Hallam quantities of 'words noted' (wn.) in different parts of England, noted from various speakers, either unconsciously or consciously to themselves. In the latter case he has generally been very careful to ascertain the antecedents of the speaker in order to judge of the trustworthiness of his utterance. These constitute some of the most valuable parts of my materials.

The result is that I have a very large number of original documents, and the trouble is, as I have explained in preceding reports, to know how to use them. The heaps of cs. wl. dt. and Mr. Hallam's wn., coming in at once from different parts of England, without any regard to locality or connection, were very confusing. Merely to copy them down and leave the work of comparison to some German professor or student in the xxth century, would be futile. I pass over the different expedients which I have spoken of in preceding reports, and come at once to the method I have used in producing my book now before you.

In the first place every document refers to a given place in a given county. Hence I established large envelopes lined with linen such as those on the table, one or more for each county and placed them in alphabetical order of the names of the counties. Into the proper county envelope I placed the documents belonging to it, headed by the name of the place and its distance in miles and direction from places inserted in the little map of England I have shewn you,¹ and arranged them in alphabetical order of the names

¹ This was done thus: Harrold Bd. (8 nw. Bedford), that is, Harrold in Bedfordshire, eight miles north-west of Bedford. By this means the exact position of obscure places, often not entered on any but maps on a very large scale, was indicated by means of this map, in which one inch represents about fifty-seven miles. I find Philip's penny county maps extremely convenient. They are very cheap and they can be scribbled over in any way. But they are on different scales. Hence I find the cheap six-sheet map with the county boundaries coloured, originally published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, about eleven miles to the inch, very useful. I cut each map into four parts,

of the places. Thus each document could be immediately found and referred to. Of course all papers relating to the same place (and there were often many) were fastened together. The next requisite was to have a standard of comparison in the shape of a classified wl. I made one containing all the words in my former wl., all in my es. and dt., together with several others which seemed useful. This list contains 971 words. It is arranged in three parts, (1) the words having direct prototypes in Ws. or Norse, (2) words not having such, or of doubtful, disputed, or other than known Romance origin, (3) Romance words. The first part is arranged by the Ws. or Norse vowel contained, distinguishing whether long or short or whether followed or not by a consonant in the same syllable, that is, close or open vowels. Under each such vowel are placed the Ws. or Norse words, in strict alphabetical order from the vowel onwards, followed by the English word. A similar but necessarily less elaborate classification is pursued in lists 2 and 3. Every word is numbered. This I have had printed very openly, so that for any particular place I can write upon the paper the pronunciation of any word in the list. But I constantly require words not in the list. These I insert in a proper place with *a* for 'after' or *b* 'before' the number of the adjacent word. My intention is to give the list in a condensed form at first, and subsequently to put only the pronunciations interpreted by the prefixed number, if in the list, and otherwise by the addition of the ordinary spelling. This list is accompanied by another in the alphabetical order of the English words, referring by a number to this list, and containing also the inserted words with their proper etymologies. This alphabetical list I have found of the utmost use to me. Of course to pick out the words in, say, one of Mr. Hallam's lists of wn., or any other examples given, and even from old word lists, and insert them in proper order in the new form, is extremely laborious, and I cannot delegate the work, for I know of no one who could interpret the papers, and even if I did, I find this work indispensable for the formation of a proper conception of the system of pronunciation (pron.). I always learn much from constructing such lists, and hence do not grudge the many hours' labour which they cause me.

Having then already made a rough plan of the English dialect districts (D), I know what to expect from any county or part of a county. When beginning a new div., as lately the E. div., I see what counties it involves, and sort out the corresponding envelopes. Then I read through the contents of each envelope. This gives a general idea of how the dialect district will run. Next I seize especially upon any *vivâ voce* (vv.) information which I have obtained, or any from Mr. Hallam, Mr. Goodchild or Mr. C.

gum the middle of each only on to sheets of paper, which protects the edges and allows any two or more to be brought close together, number them and mark their boundaries on one of the small maps of England, which renders reference easy. But it is often necessary to refer to Stanford's 24 sheet map with three miles to an inch, and even larger maps.

Clough Robinson, and I reduce these, if *cs. dt.* or *wn.*, to the proper palaeotype (*pal.*) form as now used, appending the necessary notes, and if *wl.* or *wn.*, to the systematic form of my classified *wl.* After this is done for each county, I commence comparing the papers, and on my county maps mark the apparent boundaries of the speech forms. This comparison is much facilitated by the new classified *wl.* It is by this method that the characteristic forms and the outlines of each district are obtained. The process is very slow, as it is an extensive induction of particulars, but it leaves nothing to the imagination, except in unexplored regions. Incomplete and insufficient documents are here a great help in indicating how far a system of speech extends. But it would be useless to pretend that the lines drawn on the map can be accurate within half a dozen miles. It is only on some particular boundaries that I have been able to get anything like a sufficient number of observations to draw a sharp line of demarcation, as, for instance, in those admirable investigations of Mr. Hallam on the position of the Southern boundary of the pronunciation of *some* as *sōm* (*su,m*),¹ in itself a most unexpected and hitherto unnoticed phenomenon.

The above points have been dwelt on, because they will serve in some measure to explain the necessarily slow process of constructing such an account of English dialects and their purely phonetic classification, as I propose to give, and therefore I hope will excuse me, especially as I have been frequently interrupted by other studies and private business, for the otherwise apparently inexcusable delay in getting out Part V. I cannot go to press with any part till the whole is complete. It would be absurd to publish anything without the map, and the construction of the map is, in any div., the last thing that can be attempted. The great alterations in my former schemes which my recent investigations have made necessary in the E. div. warn me what I must expect in the very complicated Midland region. But besides all this, the work must be revised and systematised as a whole. The former parts of my E.E.P. have already suffered by being produced in sections, and as the fifth part will constitute a complete treatise by itself, I am most anxious to make it self-consistent. And now if you please I will attempt to shew you what I have thus far accomplished.

PRELIMINARY MATTER.

First let me direct your attention to the map. My preliminary matter among other things contains an account of the 3 borders (B.) and the 10 transverse lines. The first border is the N. to S. B., which passed from Edinburgh with a few sinuosities to the w. of Do., and was the boundary between Saxon on the e. and Celt on the w. about A.D. 580. It belongs to a bygone period, and hence is not marked, but it is useful to remember as explaining to some

¹ Sounds in this report are given generally in a makeshift unexplained orthography, such as ordinary writers employ, corrected by the subsequently *pal.* letters between (), which are known to the readers of E.E.P. Parts I. to IV.

extent the difference between the character of our speech to the e. and w. of that line. The second or Welsh B., the only one marked on the map, is the present separation of English and Welsh, as explained in my paper on the *Delimitation of Welsh and English* in our Transactions. It may be continued to Ireland, to cut off the se. corner of County Wexford. It is indicated by a thick line to the w. of England and s. of Wales. The third or Highland B. belongs to Scotland. Of the 10 transverse lines which run across England from sea to sea, and form important distinctions of speech, only three occur in the map. They are marked by small encircled numbers 1, 2, 3, at their extremities on the sea, and occasionally during their length.

Line 1 marks the northernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sum* (səm, sɛm) or even *som* (som), n. of this line and through the M. counties the sound is *sōm* (su,m). The line begins on the River Dee, passes thro' Sh. Wo. Wa. Np. Hu. and Cb. to pass by n. of Nf. to the sea. I had thought that this would cut off the M. div., and it does so very nearly, but n. Np. and Rt., which are not at all M., lie to the n. of it. I call this the n. *sum* line.

Line 2 marks the southernmost limit of the pronunciation of *some* as *sōm* (su,m). Lines 1 and 2 coincide as far as the se. corner of Sh. Then line 2 sweeps s. by the Malvern Hills, and afterwards, marked by a broken line, passes through s. Gl. and n. Wl., and through n. Ox., cutting off the nw. part of Bu. and joining line 1 again about Thrapston Np. This union of the two lines continues but a little way, and line 2 goes s. again thro' n. Hu. and n. Cb. to Nf., and in Nf. cuts off a very extensive region to the nw. All the border towns on each side of the line have been visited and examined by Mr. Hallam, and the line was drawn by me from his observations. Between lines 1 and 2 there is a mixed region in which not only *sum*, *sōm* (səm, su,m) are heard, but also various mixtures of them and not unfrequently *som* (som). Hence I call line 2 the s. *sōm* line, and the intermediate district I term the mixed *som* region.

This incursion of *ō* (u_1) on the land of *ū* (\bar{u}), as it appears, is really the contrary. The whole country s. of the s. *sōm* line 2, once said *sōm* (*sum*) or (*su,m*)—of the difference of these two sounds it will be more convenient to speak in my next report, which will begin with the M.—and it is really the part s. of line 2 which has changed, by a process perhaps similar to that now heard in the mixed *som* region. To this change, which has extended so widely, and which we meet again in L., no exact date can be assigned, but it probably did not begin before the xvth century. The present prevalence of deep *ū* (\bar{u}) in place of fine *ū* (\bar{u}) to the s. of line 2 may be one of the intermediate forms passing from *ō* (o , o) which have been evolved in the transition.

One important consequence for our investigation is that the change of *sum* to *sōm* (\bar{u}) to (u_1) does not affect the dialect, and can be at most considered as a local variety. At first I had been led to consider the change *sum* to *sōm* as a marked difference of

dialect. The discovery of the *som* region has entirely changed my opinion, and got over an immense difficulty in Np.

Line 3, which I term the reverted *ur* (ær) line, is the w. n. and e. limit of the regular S. mode of producing the *r* by reverting the tongue so that its tip points to the throat and the underpart comes opposite to the palate. This makes the central upper part of the tongue concave instead of convex to the palate, and the effect is very remarkable. A milder form, which Mr. Goodchild advocates, is produced by simply retracting the tongue (ar,) and the *r* of Mr. Bell and Mr. Sweet, my *point-rise* (r_o), is only a still further degradation of the same, and not I think of the convex (r). Line 3 commences in the Bristol Channel, passes by Gl. and He. to line 1, which it follows to about Byfield Np. (7 sw. Daventry) and then runs s. to the border of Ox., which (very nearly at least) it follows to the Thames. It then runs along that river to the sea. The reverted *ur* line forms the n. boundary of the S. div., the whole of which uses it in ordinary speech.

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

The three divisions are now easily delimited, the S. contains D. 1 to 12, the W. contains D. 13 and 14, and the E. contains D. 15 to 19. There are three outlying districts in the S., D. 1 in Ireland, D. 2 and 3 in Wales. The first is retained because of its interest as the oldest English colony which maintained itself as English among a Celtic neighbourhood, and has only disappeared by fusion with the much more recent English which afterwards surrounded it. In my first report I dwelled so much on this D. that I now pass it over. D. 2 and 3 are English colonies of about the same date and were considered in my *Delimitation of English and Welsh*, and I also adverted last May to the double use of (*sum* *səm*) in D. 2 in sw. Pm. at the present day. This could not possibly be attributed to a M. encroachment, and the (*sum*) must therefore be a survival. For D. 1 in se. of Wexford, Ireland, my only authorities are contained in Rev. W. Barnes's book on the *Dialect of Forth and Bargy*. For D. 2 in sw. Pm. I am able to give a dt. written by Rev. Joseph Tombs, Rector of Burton (3 n. Pembroke), and another written in his phonetic spelling by Mr. W. Spurrell, of Carmarthen, from the dictation of Mr. Thomas, formerly of Castlemartin (6 wsw. Pembroke), as checked by Archdeacon Edmondson of Warren, close to Castlemartin, and I add a wl. collected from several sources. For D. 3 in the peninsula of Gowerland Gm., I am principally indebted to Rev. J. D. Davies, Rector of Llanmadock, in that peninsula.

The rest of the S. div. D. 4 to 12, with the exception of Sc., is on the mainland. The typical form of S. English is to be found in D. 4, which I call wMS. or western Mid Southern. The way that I treat any such district is as follows. First I give the *Boundaries* in words as accurately as the case admits, shewing the nearest towns and distance from them, so that the line could be traced on any map of England. Here the drawing on the present little map,

which will when complete form part of my book, must suffice. Then I describe the *Area*, in this case all Wl. and Do.; most of Sm. and Gl., the extreme se. of Dv. with small parts of w.Be. w.Ha. and w.Ox. Next I give my *Authorities*. This I do by naming alphabetically according to the counties concerned, also put alphabetically, the names of all the places from which I have received information, distinguishing by * those from which I have personally obtained vv. accounts, by † those from which I have received information by Mr. Hallam always in pal., by ‡ the same from Mr. Goodchild also in pal., by || the same in some systematic orthography, such as glossic (used by Mrs. Parker, and Mr. C. Clough Robinson), or one invented for the occasion but explained, and by ° those which give no clue to their spelling beyond a presumed ability to read the usual orthography and 'the light of nature,' unfortunately the great majority. Only the names of the places are given, because in the preliminary matter there will be a list of all these places for each county alphabetically arranged, preceded by the number of the district to which it belongs, followed by its distance and direction from a place in the county marked in the small dialect map, the name of the person furnishing the information, its nature and other particulars. Sometimes I have several documents of different kinds about the same place, from the same or different people. All this is duly entered. These 'County Lists,' as I call them, are written up in slips as the information comes in. There will also be an alphabetical list of informants referring to the place and county. Two reasons have induced me to be thus particular in indicating the source of my information. First I wished to acknowledge thankfully the trouble that has been taken by my informants to give me what help they could, and also to shew their qualifications for the purpose. Secondly, as by circumstances I have been obliged to rely upon others who may have, and most probably, if I may judge by my own experience, in many instances, from a great variety of causes, actually have appreciated the sounds incorrectly, I wished for my own sake to point out on whose information I relied. The lists are rather lengthy, but that was inevitable. Next I give succinctly the *Characteristics* of the district by which the genus of the dialect is recognised. For instance, for D. 4, I enter on the question of initial (v, z) for ordinary (f, s), giving important lists from Dan Michel of Canterbury 1440, Mr. Elworthy as contained in his paper on the *Dialect of West Somerset* (my D. 10), Rev. A. Law for Wl., and Rev. W. Barnes for Do., so that a complete conspectus of the usage is obtained, and we become convinced that (v, z) initial derived from Ws., and (f, s) initial from Norman words. Afterwards I turn to reverted (x) and its influence on following *t, d, n, l*, converting them to reverted (x, n, ŋ, l), and consider the probabilities of these having been the original Ws. sounds, accounting for the peculiar English 'coronal' (t, d, n, l) as distinguished from the continental (t, d, n, l). Then I take Ws. A- in open syllables, which in the n. parts is *eea* (ie), sinking in Gl. to *ee* (ii), and is in

the s. parts *aia* (éu). Next I find that Ws. A' was normally *ooah* (úa) and has become *ooa*, *oha*, *oh* (úv, óv, oo). The treatment of Ws. ÆG and EG as normally (ái'), with their local varieties, is very important. The treatment of the correlated Ws. I' and U' as *uy*, *uw* (á'i, á'u) or (ó'i, ó'u) is dwelled upon. Finally I give the grammatical constructions 'I be a going, I do go, I have adone,' and the use of indistinct *-en* (-en) for him, a well-known remnant of Ws. acc. *hine*, and of the local *utch* (atʃ) for the pronoun I.

This is by way of introduction. I now go into particulars and take the six various forms observed.

I., the typical Wl. form in Wl.—In this I give first the cs. as dictated to me by Rev. A. Law, now Rector of Dauntsey Wl., to whose kindness I am greatly indebted, with a classified wl. containing all the words of that cs. Next comes Akerman's fable of the *Hornet and the Beetle* as pal. by Mr. J. G. Goodchild from the dictation of his stepmother, a native of Chippenham, with numerous notes, followed by a complete wl. also pal. by the same from the same. And finally a specimen and wl. dictated to me in 1879 by Miss Louisa H. Johnson, daughter of the then Vicar of Tilshead (8 sse. Devizes), who was a native and had resided there all her life, about 40 years. I am much indebted to many daughters of clergymen. The above examples give every possible information respecting this typical form.

II.—The Gl. form is illustrated by comparing three cs., (1) a vv. from the Vale and Town of Gloucester by Mr. John Jones, who had known the dialect 50 years; (2) a cs. from Tetbury written in her own spelling by Miss Frampton, daughter of the late Vicar, who answered me such numerous questions that I was able to palaeotype it; and (3) a vv. cs. from Coleford, Forest of Dean, given me in two visits by Mr. R. D. Trotter, native of Newnham (9 sw. Gloucester), one of the most perfect examples I have obtained.

III.—The e. He. form is illustrated by a comparison of three cs., one written by Rev. C. Y. Potts and dictated to me by Mr. Gregg, Solicitor, of Ledbury; another phonotypically written by Mr. Joseph Jones of Hereford from the dictation of Mr. Herbert Ballard of Leighton Court, Bromyard (13 ne. Hereford); and the third written for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper of Blackway, Eggleton, giving the pronunciation by a series of rhymes. The last two were reduced to palaeotype by myself.

IV.—The important Do. form is illustrated (1) by a vv. dt. from Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour of Hanford Hall (4 nw. Blandford), a lady perfectly well acquainted with the dialect, who also obligingly went over a wl. with me; (2) by a comparison between a cs. for Cranbourne (12 ene. Blandford) written by Mr. Clarke, a national schoolmaster, and read to me by Major-General Michel; and a cs. written for me in systematic spelling by the veteran Do. poet and philologist, Rev. William Barnes, of Winterborne Came.

V.—The important Land of Utch, the only part of the s. of England where the old *ich* for I still lingers in the forms *utch*, *utchee* (atʃ, atʃii'), which occupies the angular space between the

two railways that converge at Yeovil, is illustrated by a dt. from Mr. George Mitchell, a native of Montacute, and illiterate till 23, but afterwards a Kensington Vestryman, and his former secretary Mr. Price, a Yeovil man, but resident at Montacute from his tenth year.

VI.—The late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman's Axe-Yarty D., or neighbourhood of the two rivers Axe and Yarty, which in fact represents general Sm., is illustrated by a wl. dictated to me by himself, and a cs. and dt. written by him, but pal. by me from his indications, and other documents.

This D. 4 has been thus fully illustrated because of its typical character. It has not been broken into subdistricts because the differences are very minute, and no lines of demarcation could be drawn, so that it was only possible to give illustrations from different parts of this extensive district.

In D. 5, or eMS., that is, eastern Mid Southern, there is a decided falling off of dialect, the reverted *ur* (r) remains distinct, but the initial (z, v) for (s, f) die off eastward. The line of separation between this and the last is consequently indistinct, and is rather arbitrarily drawn from deficiency of information. This D. comprises a small portion of Ox., most of Be. and Ha., all of Wi., and s. Sr. with w. Ss.

I.—The w. Ox. form is illustrated by a dt. originally written by Mrs. Angelina Parker, and pal. by Mr. Hallam partly from her dictation, and afterwards from information gained on a visit to Ox., and by a wl. drawn up from his notes of the pron. of Mr. Brain of Ducklington, a native aged 81. Witney (9 wnw. Oxford) is in the mixed *som* region, Ducklington (2 sse. Witney) is in the pure *sum* region.

II.—The Be. form is illustrated by a dt. written in glossic from dictation by Mrs. A. Parker, whose glossic, as tested during personal interviews by Mr. Hallam, was found to be very good, by a wl. from Wantage, and by part of a cs. for Hampstead Norris, pal. from dictation of W. B. Banting, Esq., Hon. Sec. of the Newbury District Field Club, by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte.

III.—The Ha. and Wi. forms are illustrated chiefly by a cs. dictated to me in 1876 by Mr. Percival Leigh, a native of Scotland, who was transplanted to Winchester when one month old and has known the dialect all his life, but it gives apparently rather a refined form. I have also a wl. for Shorwell (5 sw. Newport Wi.) drawn up from indications furnished by Mr. Titmouse, national schoomaster.

IV.—The s. Sr. and w. Ss. forms are illustrated by a wl. chiefly pal. by me from dictation of students at the Whiteland's Training College, Chelsea, from Ockley (8 sw. Reigate) and Stoke (1 n. Guildford). I may mention that through the interest taken in my investigations by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whiteland's, I have been enabled to take down specimens vv. from many of the students and teachers at the College, generally natives, or at least pupil teachers for some years in the schools of the places illustrated,

and that the information thus obtained has been of the greatest service to me, in covering ground where I had long despaired of getting anything on which I could depend. To the above words from Ockley and Stoke I have been able to add others from Charlwood (6 ssw. Reigate), Wisborough (8 sw. Horsham), and the Weald of Ss. generally.

This concludes my examination of the great M.S. form of speech, the direct descendant of the literary Ws. language in which Alfred wrote and with which I compare all other forms of English. It is, you will have seen, very different indeed from our rec. sp., which therefore must have come to us from another quarter.

We now proceed to a transitional kind of speech which forms the border as it were between S. and M. on the one hand and S. and E. on the other. This splits into three distinct parts, although the lines of separation between them are not well marked.

D. 6 or nBS., that is, northern Border Southern, contains extreme n. Gl., the s. half of Wo., the extreme s. Wa., extreme n. Ox., and sw. Np. In this complicated region, which has given me much trouble and anxiety, I find it best to distinguish three varieties.

I.—The Worcester variety is chiefly illustrated by Mr. Hallam's unwearied work at Abberley, Great Witley, Bewdley, Bengeworth, Eldersfield, Ebrington, Saleway, and Worcester. At Bewdley he interviewed an old woman of 95, and at Eldersfield another old woman of 79. These aged persons are very important to my work.

From Worcester Mr. Hallam was able to give me a dt. from the dictation of a native.

II.—The s. Wa. variety. Here I have not had fully satisfactory information, although Mr. Hallam visited Stratford-on-Avon, for my documents from Butler's Marston (12 s. Warwick) and Tysoe (11 se. Stratford-on-Avon), although good of their kind, had to be pal. from indications. I have some hopes that Mr. Hallam will be able to get to this neighbourhood hereafter.

III.—The Banbury variety. This is illustrated by a cs. written in 1875 by Thomas Beesley, Esq., J.P., native, and pal. by me from his indications and Mr. Hallam's notes of a visit. I have also a dt. from a Whiteland's student, native of Shennington (6½ w. Banbury), and I am able to give a wl. from Shennington obtained by Mr. Hallam in 1875 from a London policeman, whom the Whiteland's student knew, and whose pron. she confirmed. I have also a long list of words by the uncle of Mr. Beesley before mentioned, which I have pal. to the best of my power by help of Mr. Beesley himself.

This D. 6 shews a falling off of S. characters, but still sufficient remain to make its connection with the S. and separation from M. quite clear. For example, the reverted *ur* (r) generally remains. This is quite gone in the M. div.

D. 7 or mBS., that is, mid Border Southern, contains most of Ox. with a very small portion of Be. It is entirely a region of transition from S. to E. The dial. forms are always uncertain,

and become practically lost towards the s. part. For my knowledge of this region I am indebted to Mrs. Angelina Parker, a native of Handborough (8 nw. Oxford), author of the Ox. Glossary and Supplement, who bestowed great pains upon it, acquiring glossic on purpose. From her I give a cs. and dt. with notes, a variety of phrases and a wl. The Handborough information was also checked by Mr. Hallam, who on visiting Oxford was most kindly received by Mrs. Parker, and afforded every facility of verifying her information.

D. 8 or sBS., that is, south Border Southern, contains extreme se. Be., m. Sr. and extreme nw. Ke., embracing London and its suburbs s. of the Thames. It is the graveyard of the S. dialect. I give all the indications I could obtain, but they are very slight, sufficient however to let us write on the tombstone, "Here lies what once was the Southern dialect." Large towns are pesthouses for dialect. People come from all parts of the country and continually change their domicile. Education is rampant. The artificial speech of literature is the only one not ridiculed. Still in country places some traces may be found of Southernisms, if only in such a phrase as *I be*. At Wargrave Be. (6 ne. Reading) T. F. Maitland, Esq., was able to give me some decided Southernisms vv. I got others in writing from Mrs. Godfrey at Hurley close by, and from the late Rev. R. A. Cannon of Hurst (4 e. Reading). Chobham, Chertsey, Leatherhead, Croydon, yielded practically a negative result. Of course I did not attempt the wilderness of the town itself.

D. 9, on the contrary, or ES. (that is, East Southern) containing Ke. and e. Sr. is distinctly a S. dialect, and very well marked off from D. 5 by a line drawn from the mouth of the Adur in Ss. to the extreme nw. of Ke. It is in the first place a further degradation of D. 5, initial (z, v) having been quite superseded by (s, f). The reverted *ur* (R) remains quite distinctly. But the peculiar character of the district is the use of (d) in place of initial *th* (dh) in *this that the there their theirs them then these those they*. As *than thou thee thy thine though thus*, are not heard in the dialect, we can say nothing about them. Mr. Parish in his glossary indeed asserts that "the *th* is invariably *d*," but this is not borne out by my inquiries. Medial *d* is heard in *farthing* and *further*, as elsewhere, and perhaps *another*. Final *th* becomes *d* before a vowel in *smood it*, *wid it*, and *adin adout*, for *within without*. But this nigger-like *d*-ing of our language is quite recent. Dan Michel 1340 knows nothing of it. In Lewis's *Isle of Tenet* 1736 it is mentioned as universal in the Isle of Thanet, whence it has entirely disappeared, thanks to Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs. Another peculiarity has also developed itself, namely (w) for (v), which uncertainly extends to e. Ss., but is rampant on the e. coast of England as far as the n. of Nf. Three forms are distinguished.

I. e. Ss., illustrated by a wl. from Miss Anna M. Darby of Markly' (15 n. Eastbourne), and another from Rev. W. D. Parish of Selmeaton (8 nw. Eastbourne), with vv. wl. from Whiteland's

students from Cuckfield (12 n. Brighton) and Eastbourne, to which are added words from Rev. W. D. Parish's Glossary, Miss Darby, and Miss B. C. Curtis of Leasam (1 n. Rye).

II. m. Ke. is chiefly illustrated by a cs. drawn up by Rev. Henry B. Berin, then of Biddenden (10 wsw. Ashford), and pal. by me from dictation of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq., of Provender, Faversham (9 wnw. Canterbury), who also dictated to me a considerable wl.

III. For the c. Ke. form I am indebted (1) to Rev. F. W. Ragg, then vicar of Wingham (6 e. Canterbury), now of Marsworth Bu. near Tring, who gave me a good wl. for the highlands of Ke., and (2) to Mr. W. R. Stead, head master of the Folkestone Grammar School, who, writing Glossic well, gave me the pronunciation of the Folkestone fishermen, which is rendered in many respects very remarkable by the absence of (d) for (dh), the presence of an occasional French *u* (y), which may be only approximative, in *school*, *sure*, to *do*, *look*, the use of (w) for (v), but not conversely, *oy* (ʌ'i) for *I*, broad *ī* (ái) in *name*, and other points.

This is the extreme e. development of the S. dialects. We now go w., where a new element meets us, the influence of a Celtic population upon an imported Ws. speech.

D. 10 or nWS., that is, northern West Southern, is in w. Sm., of which you have heard so much from Mr. Elworthy, and will hear more, that I need not trouble you with remarks, except to say that it is illustrated by a wl. cs. and other specimens, all revised from Mr. Elworthy's dictation.

D. 11 or sWS., that is, southern West Southern, takes in Dv. and e. Co. as far as a line drawn, with great difficulty and after much inquiry, from indications furnished by Rev. W. H. Hodge, then curate of St. Gluvias, Penryn, Co. (1 nw. Falmouth), now vicar of Manaccan (6 s. Falmouth)—from Falmouth to Truro and then e. of Perran Zabulo to the sea on the n. coast of Co. The character of speech is the same throughout this region, though it becomes worn out more and more as it approaches the w. border. Its main features are first a sound which approaches very nearly to French *u* (y₁), just as we found in the fishermen's speech at Folkestone Ke., and shall find again in Nf., replacing the Ws. O', and secondly a very remarkable diphthong replacing Ws. U', which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte analyses as French *oeu* in *coeur*, followed by French *u* (œ'y), and Messrs. Baird (Nathan Hogg) and Shelly (of Plymouth) agree with him. My own careful observations on native speakers lead me rather to English *u* in *cur* followed by the same imitation of the French *u* already mentioned. For the first element the lips are wide open, and then they suddenly dart forward, being greatly projected to form the second element, pal. (œ'y₁^s), the stress falling on the first element. But in the word *too* there is a change of stress to the second element, and the pitch rises upon it greatly. Thus in *now too*, we have diphthongs of the same elements, but of totally different character; *now* has stress on the first element and a falling pitch on the second; *too* has a low pitch without stress

on the first element, and then a high pitch with stress on the second element. I experimented on these sounds repeatedly with natives.

In n. Dv. I got a capital vv. cs. from a servant of Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, fresh from Iddesleigh (16 s. Barnstaple), and a dt. from the dictation of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq., a native, who also gave me a large number of words which I have incorporated with the words extracted from Iddesleigh in one wl.

From s. Dv. I have a cs. together with a wl. both relating to Dartmoor n. of a line from Plymouth to Kingsbridge (23 ese. Plymouth), from Mr. J. Shelly, a native of Nf., who has resided 30 years in Plymouth, and especially busied himself with the dialect. He was one of my earliest dialectal correspondents, mentioned in that list on p. 277 of my E.E.P. already alluded to, and I am indebted to him for much assistance during all that time, up to last winter even. He himself identifies the Nf. with the Dv. so called French *u*.

From Devonport I give a vv. dt. obtained from Mr. J. Tenny, a native, and just over the county border a vv. specimen by Mr. J. B. Rundell, of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, also a native of Devonport, representing Millbrook Co. (2 sw. Plymouth), where he lived when young. Mr. Rundell states that he found the dialect at Padstow quite similar. From Co. I give another vv. specimen for Camelford (14 w. Launceston) obtained from a native Whiteland's student, but the dialect was evidently wearing out both as regards Ws. O' and U'. I add two other Co. dt. written very carefully by national schoolmasters at Cardyn'ham, and St. Columb Major, but I cannot be quite sure of the interpretation I have put on them. This finishes the S. div. proper, on the w. the dialect having fully died out.

D. 12 or wWS., that is, western West Southern, including w. Co. and the Scilly Isles, I include in the S. div. for geographical reasons. But neither of them have a dialect proper. Out of Sc. it has been thoroughly expelled by education. In w. Co. the speech is rather nondescript, and its history has yet to be written. It is amusing from its great variety in different places, from the odd words employed, and from a remnant of the Celtic which was still spoken 200 years ago. How the change occurred I have not learned, but it could hardly have come from the e., as there is scarcely a shadow of Dv. phraseology, pronunciation, or intonation. I give an example of it written for me by Mr. Rawlings of Hayle, and pal. from his dictation in 1876, representing Marazion speech. A long visit to w. Co. and a separate study of each individual place would be necessary to give any proper account of its pronunciation, and for the purposes of my investigation such trouble would be useless, because the speech is certainly a modern mixture, and not one of those hereditary forms in which we are interested.

WESTERN DIVISION.

The W. div. borders on Wales, indeed encroaches on it, and the whole div. was once Celtic, though the e. side has been so long

English that it has acquired a right to be considered dialectal. The w. side, which is a much more recent acquisition from Wales, is barely dialectal, it is rather book English with a peculiar intonation very pleasant to hear, and a few Welshisms of phrase and vocabulary. I have attempted generally only the e. or older English side, but as I found it impossible to run a line between e. and w. I include the latter in the W. div. as I did w. Co. in the S. The boundaries are the Welsh border to the w. and part of the n. *sum* and reverted *ur* lines on the e. It separates into two distinct parts, though it is rather difficult to draw the line between them, which must run by or near the n. border of Rd. right across to Bewdley Wo. (3 wsw. Kidderminster).

D. 13 or SW., that is, South Western, contains the e. of Mo., most of He. and Rd., the e. of Br. and a narrow slip of the s. of Sh. The groundwork is S. English, with all its peculiarities much impaired. The diphthongal forms for Ws. I', U', or *uy*, *ow* (ə'i, ə'u) are mild and practically literary English. A few words, as *uth* (æth) for with, and *frum* (frəm) for ripe, forward, are striking. I am indebted to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte chiefly for collecting specimens of this district from Docklow, Hereford, Lower Bach Farm, and Weobley in He., and Llanover in Mo. Mr. Hallam also visited Lower Bach Farm and brought me valuable information which gave me more confidence in interpreting the other examples. My illustrations are (1) a dt. obtained by Mr. Hallam from the sons of Mrs. Burgiss of Lower Bach Farm (3½ ene. Leominster), (2) some examples carefully written by Mr. Woodhouse of Docklow (5 ese. Leominster and only 2 m. from the last place), (3) a wl. including words obtained by Mr. Hallam from Lower Bach Farm, Hereford, Leominster and Ludlow with the distinctive words given by Mr. Woodhouse; (4) an account of the four peculiar fractures and diphthongs used in e. Br. given me by Mr. Stead, now of Folkestone, but formerly a teacher in Christ's Coll. Br., in such words as i. lame, ii. toe, and the diphthongs for iii. time, iv. down, with analysis and list of words; they are only peculiarly shortened and as it were clipped forms of the common S. representatives of similar words. I also give an account (5) of Mr. Spurrell's Cm. English, which is not dialectal, and (6) of the specimen which Lady Llanover, at Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's request, read to me, and which probably resembles the Rd. as much as the ne. Mo. English.

D. 14 or NW., that is, North Western, contains the greater part of Sh. and a small portion of Mg. This is the dialect which Miss Georgina F. Jackson has made her own and given such an admirable account of in her *Shropshire Word Book*, to which is prefixed Mr. Hallam's elaborate account of the pronunciation in complete glossie, made under her immediate superintendence and from her dictation. The speech is a curious mixture of S. and M. forms. The former is shewn by the use of the *ahy* (ái) forms in such words as *maid*, *snail*, WS. ÆG, EG; the latter by the constant use of the M. verbal plural in -n, -en; the form we *bin* for *we are*, combines the S. *be* with the M. -n. The *r* is here quite distinctive, it is always

trilled not only before but after a vowel, although certainly much more weakly in the latter case; it is in fact the convex Welsh (r) and altogether different from the concave southern (r).

For illustrations I give in pal. two specimens from Miss Jackson's Wordbook fully rendered from her dictation by Mr. Hallam in glossic, a short passage which she dictated to me in 1873, and a wl. containing many words I took down from her on that occasion, and all the words given by Mr. Hallam in his account of the pronunciation, which however are there printed in complete glossic, and, like all the rest, are here palaeotyped and differently arranged.

EASTERN DIVISION.

This contains D. 15 to 19, extending over 11 counties. To ascertain anything about the pronunciation of these counties was a work of great difficulty, for though I got my earliest information from Norwich in 1868, and a vv. cs. from Ware in 1876, I got my latest from ne. Np. through Mr. Hallam, since the beginning of this month. For years the territory from London to the Wash remained a blank in my map. And even when I tried to fill it roughly in my report in April 1882, I find I was from insufficient information hopelessly wrong. The reason is obvious. The E. div. represents the country from which our received literary speech was elaborated, and people found so little difference between it and ordinary speech, that they paid no heed to it, or thought that such diversities were vulgarisms, or even imported cockneyisms—the importation having been really in the other direction. If my distribution of Eastern pron. do not surprise you, I shall be still more surprised than I was when a detailed examination of particulars led me to it, gradually and almost unwillingly.

The main character of the E. speech as distinguished from that of all others is its great similarity to the received, and especially to that current in e. London, which is one of its forms. Of course this is modified respecting Ws. U in the n. part, for the n. *sum* line passes through the length of Np. and the s. *sööm* line goes some way into Hu. and Cb. and even Nf., as we have learned from Mr. Hallam's labours. But this makes no change in other respects. The great character in opposition to S. and W. is the loss of *r* or its vocalization after vowels, and its sinking often, if not generally, to the mere imperfect *point-rise* (*r*_o) without any trill, and with a maimed articulation. But this is not a simple characteristic, for the same habit prevails all along the e. coast of England as far as North Shields in Nb. at least. Even euphonic *r*, or the insertion of an *r* when a vowel follows *ah*, *au*, *ü* (*aa*, *AA*, *v*) as *sol-fa-r-ing*, *saw-r-ing*, the idea-*r*- of the thing! is, I find, not peculiar to the E. div., where it is very marked. I make 5 districts, not very different from each other, but tolerably distinct. The peculiar shape of the counties should be noted; the long wall of Bu. to the w. and of Cb. to the east, resting upon Essex, forming a doorway of which Np., stretching across the top and capped by Rt., is the lintel, while Mi. Ht. Bd. Hu. are loose cobble stones

which block up the entrance, and Nf. and Sf. are part of the wall beyond. That at least is how it has presented itself to me when trying to understand its relations. The solution is mainly obtained by regarding Np. not as an undivided block, but as a series of stones, or, to drop metaphor, not as a simple single dialect, but a congeries of forms. For this we have been prepared by Miss Baker and Sternberg in their glossaries, and the extreme sw. Np. has been assigned to D. 6, which is not E. at all. I have been induced to clip another portion out of w. Np., to make ne. Np. quite different, and the main body or mNp. different again. But it was not till I felt convinced that the change in the pronunciation of *u* for Ws. U, from its S. to its M. form as illustrated by the two pronunciations of *put* (rhyming to *foot* or *nut*), must be disregarded in seeking dialectal relations, and must at most be looked upon as a variety, that I was enabled to incorporate these pieces of Np. with the respective counties to the s. of them.

D. 15 or WE., that is, Western Eastern, contains all Bu. except the little bit on the s. which has no proper dialect, as it lies in the Metropolitan Area. Then I follow the n. border of Bu. as far as about Hanslope (10 ne. Buckingham) and cut immediately across Np., passing w. of East Haddon to the border of the E. division, a little s. of the n. border of Np., but its exact position has yet to be determined by observations along the nw. boundary of Np., as there is reason to suppose that the speech is affected by the neighbouring Wa. and Le., which I shall have to deal with in the M. division. This small included part of Np. will, however, require further examination. The character of D. 15 is so much like D. 7, on which it borders, that I have been fain to take refuge in the county boundary, which of course means ignorance. But a few miles on either side the speech is different. The only point which nearly concerns us is that Ws. A- is represented by a fracture, as (*léum*) nearly *lay 'em*, for *lame*.

Bu. is illustrated by an example pal. by me from the dictation of Mr. R. R. Fowler of the Prebendal Farm, Aylesbury, in 1881, by a vv. wl. by Mr. J. Kersley Fowler (his father), and another from Wendover from a Whiteland's student, and several words noted by Mr. Hallam, and also a vv. wl. from Hanslope by another Whiteland's student, and a written wl. from Tyringham (13 ne. Buckingham) by Rev. J. Tarver, rector. The included portion of Np. is represented by a wl. from the words noted by Mr. Hallam at Helmedon, Syersham, Blisworth, Watford, and Weedon.

D. 16 or ME., that is, Mid Eastern, is the typical E. district. It contains all Es. and Ht., except what falls into the Metropolitan Area, all Bd., all Hu. and the central part of Np. Its character is generally that A- becomes *uy* (*éi*, *e'i*, *á'i*), and in consequence Ws. I' is *ahy*, *oy* (*ái*, *á'i*). Ws. ÆG, EG are sometimes distinguished as having a very long and broad *ay* in *play* (*EE'i*), but are, as often as not, confused with Ws. A-. Ws. A' is still occasionally *ooa* (*úv*), but falls into *oha* (*óv*) and thence into (*óá*, *óu*). Hence Ws. U' becomes *aou* (*é'u*) by way of distinction. These characters appear

pretty general in all the varieties. We are principally concerned with the treatment of Ws. A-; where *lame* becomes nearly *lime*. Now it results from Mr. Hallam's inquiries that this vowel in *lame* like *lime*, or (éi) form, is recent, that 50 years ago the regular S. fracture (év), like *lay'em*, was the only one used, and that the indistinct ü (v) was changed into an indistinct (i) which developed into the *lime* sound, as if we said *lay'im* for *lay'em*. We shall find a parallel case in the M. division. This *aay* (éi) is I think different from the 'vanish' to long *ā* common in the pause in received English, both in origin and effect, and is distinctly ME.

This ME. is considered county by county proceeding from Ht. to Bd., and thence to Hu. and Np., and afterwards beginning again in Ht. and proceeding to Es., where all the characteristics are exaggerated.

I. Ht. is illustrated (1) by a vv. cs. from Ware by Mr. Roderick, a native, and a wl. comparing Mr. Roderick's forms with those observed from natives by Mr. Hallam at Ware, Hertford, etc.; also (2) by a dt. from Ardeley Wood End by Rev. C. Malet, then curate, and by a wl. containing the words noted from old people there by Mr. Hallam, who made a special journey to the place, which was recommended to me by Mr. Roderick as a famous spot for dialect; and (3) by dt. from Welwyn and Hitchin given me by C. W. Wilshire, Esq., of the Frithe, Welwyn, and (4) by words noted by Mr. Hallam at Harpenden and Hatfield.

II. For the Bd. variety, Batchelor's book, 1809, being written in systematic orthography, is duly examined, and I have also a vv. cs. from Bedford by James Wyatt, Esq., and a wl. containing these and Batchelor's words compared with others given from Bedford by Mr. Rowland Hill, and another set observed at Dunstable by Mr. Hallam.

III. The Hu. variety has a dt. written by Miss Ebdon, daughter of the late Vicar of Great Stukeley (2 nnw. Huntingdon), and corrected from Mr. Hallam's observations, and also a wl. containing Mr. Hallam's wn. from aged natives there, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebdon. But the main discovery was the sudden change in the representative Ws. U from *sum* to *sōm* in passing from Great Stukeley to Sawtry and Holme, only 7 and 8 miles further n.

IV. The Np. variety is illustrated (1) by a cs. pal. by me in 1873 from the dictation of a native, a railway porter then at St. Pancras Station, whose pronunciation was this year corroborated by the long resident Vicar, Rev. W. P. Mackesy, together with a wl. formed upon the cs., and other words and sentences which he gave me, (2) by dt. from Miss Downes, daughter of the Vicar of Harrington, and (3) another dt. from the Hon. and Rev. H. T. Tollemache, rector of Harrington, accompanied by a wl.; (4) Mr. C. H. Wykes, schoolmaster of Lower Benefield, 3 w. Oundle, with whom I had had much correspondence which led to nothing, and who was highly spoken of for his knowledge of the dialect, and his power of mimicking the natives, dictated a wl. to Mr. Hallam, and (5)

these words with many others noted by Mr. Hallam from 12 places in mNp., are collected in one wl.

V. The Es. variety is illustrated by a vv. cs. from Great Dunmow by Mr. J. N. Cullingford, native, and a dt. from a native of Maldon, a Whiteland's student, with a long wl. of the words collected by Mr. Hallam in a special journey made to clear up difficulties.

The homogeneity of this ME. dialect, considering the straggling nature of the district, is really quite surprising, though of course there are small varieties, as my illustrations show.

D. 17 or SE., that is, Southern Eastern, includes Mi. and the extremities of Bu. and Ht. and the sw. extremity of Es. forming the Metropolitan Area n. of the Thames. It has no dialect proper, but quite sufficient traces of dialect to shew that it belongs to the E. div. as distinguished from D. 8, which is decidedly S. Here the chief interest centres in London speech. I give an account of a list of errors in London Speech published in 1817, shewing that there was not a single example like *bout-rice* (bóut rē'is) for *boat-race*, and I infer from the absence of any such usage in Sam Weller's speeches in *Pickwick* that Dickens was unacquainted with any instance in 1837, about 50 years ago, when the change took place in Ht. Yet this is the principal source of fun in Mr. A. W. Tuer's *Kaukneigh Awlmineck* 1883, the pronunciation of which I analyse, and then I give a wl. of the actual sounds Mr. Hallam noted in London from railway porters and others, and another differently arranged, containing Mr. Goodchild's account of his own colloquial pronunciation. I then add an account of my hunt after and failure to discover any hereditary unimported dialect in the rural part of the Metropolitan Area. I may mention as very remarkable that this SE. pronunciation colours the whole of Australian speech, as I learned from a remarkable letter written by Mr. S. McBurney, from Geelong, Melbourne, and received while I was preparing this report.

D. 18 or NE., that is, Northern Eastern, is another straggling District, comprising Cb., ne. Np. and Rt., which I should certainly never have thought of uniting if it had not been forced upon me by examination. It was for the purpose of seeing whether the nature of the speech in ne. Np. was what I expected that Mr. Hallam made his journey this Easter, and in four days did a really wonderful piece of work, having examined 9 places and recorded the pronunciation of more than as many natives for a sufficient number of words to shew that ne. Np. had practically the same pronunciation as n. Cb. and Rt. For years the pron. of this generally uninteresting district had been a puzzle, and it was thus brought to light. The principal point for the present investigation is that the Ws. A- is now simple long *ā* (ee), without either the fracture of WE. or the diphthongisation of ME.

Cb. is illustrated by a vv. dt. dictated to me in 1879 by John Perkins, Esq., of Downing College, by another taken from dictation by Mr. T. Hallam at Sawston (6 sse. Cambridge), and by another dictated to me by Miss Walker, daughter of the then vicar of Wood Ditton (3 sse. Newmarket). The rector of March, Rev.

J. W. Green, also gave me a dt. in his own orthography, but he considered that Ws. U always had the rec. sound. Herbert J. Little, Esq., of Wisbech, who gave me a wl., was of the same opinion, but Mr. Hallam, on repeated visits in 1881 and 1882, found that March and Wisbech were actually in the mixed *som* region. After giving a wl. of Mr. Hallam's results in ne. Np., I proceed to Rt. and furnish a vv. dt. from the dictation of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native of Cottesmore, Rt. (4 nne. Oakham), then a teacher in St. Mark's Coll., Chelsea, and another from Miss Kemm, native of Oakham, Rt., a teacher in Whiteland's Training Coll., who also wrote and subsequently read to me a complete wl., so that the little county of Rt. is fully represented, and the substantial agreement of all parts of D. 18 is established.

D. 19 or EE., that is, East Eastern. This comprises the counties of Nf. and Sf. The distinguishing feature of the pron. is widely known to be the use of a sound approaching, if not reaching, the French *u* (y_1), which Mr. Shelly at Plymouth, a Nf. man, identifies, as I have said, with the Dv. sound. Both are descendants of Ws. O', when the vowel was still long. In Nf. and Sf., however, the change is recent. There is no trace of it in the *Promptorium Parrulorum* 1440, which writes *schoo*, shoe; *scole*, school; *mone*, moon; *sone*, soon, and spells *brood* and *broad* in the same way *brode*. Forby and Moor represent the sound by long *u* (*iu*), which seems to occur only in D. 18 Cb. *to do*, and in w. Sf., where the French *u* (y_1) is repudiated. Mr. T. Hallam in his visits to a very large number of places in Nf. never once gives either the Fr. *u* (y) or English \bar{u} (*iu*). In many places he hears only long *oo* (*uu*), in others the diphthong ($\acute{o}u$), apparently a remnant of the *Promptorium* sound (*oo*), and in others a lip glide with which he is very familiar in his own native place, namely ($\acute{e}u$) or *oo* (*uu*) begun with the mouth wide open, but gradually closing. This is a sound which arises from (*uu*), and may often be heard from educated literary speakers in *too*, *afternoon*. It is very unstable, and leads to French *u*, English \bar{u} , and even *ow* (y , *iu*, $\acute{o}u$). This may be the key of the mystery, but it requires further examination. In the meantime I certainly heard a variant of French *u*, written (y_1), from my vv. authorities in Nf. and Sf., who were not peasants. Sometimes this (y_1) began with the mouth open, producing a lip glide, English *eo* to French *u* ($\acute{e}y_1$), which may also be heard in America, and approximates very closely to the received pron. of *dew*.

In other respects Nf. and Sf. differ little from Cb., which lies at the borders of both. Of course there are a multitude of little differences, which Forby and others make too uncompromisingly into something like general rules. There are also the words *bor*, *mor*, or *mawther* in general use in a good sense, the first as addressing males, and sometimes females, of all ages, the second for women only, the contracted form being applied to quite young girls. The *Promptorium* does not recognise *bor*, but has *moder* for both *mother* and *mawther*, and it is curious that *mother* is frequently (*mødhu*) in Nf.

It has been found best to deal with D. 19 under five varieties.

I. nw. Nf. deals with the part of Nf. in the mixed *som* region, and its acknowledgment is in fact due to the great labours of Mr. Hallam, from whose observations in the neighbourhoods of Swaffham, King's Lynn, and Hunstanton, I have constructed a wl.

II. ne. Nf., for which I am mainly indebted to the great personal kindness of the Rev. J. R. Philip Hoste, vicar of Farnham Sr., but native of Stanhoe Nf. (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea), who in two very long visits made on purpose, went through a complete wl., gave me a dt., and went over Forby's account of Nf. pron. with me. These I give in full as the most valuable contributions to the subject that I could make. I also give a dt. by R. S. Baker, Esq., from North Walsham.

III. s. Nf. is illustrated by a vv. cs. from Mattishall (12 w. Norwich) by a Whiteland's student compared in notes with a vv. cs. from Kimberley (10 wsw. Norwich) given me by a former gardener of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, a written cs. with elaborate explanations by Mr. G. A. Carthew of East Dereham (15 wnw. Norwich), and another written one by Miss Cecilia Day, then of Kirby Bedon (3 se. Norwich). Also by a wl. of words dictated to me by the same Miss Day at Norwich in 1868, and by several other specimens of the dialect then heard, and by another wl. from Mr. Hallam's observations in 1881-2-3 when travelling over this region. Finally by a dt. dictated to me by Rev. Dr. Raven, then of the Schoolhouse, Great Yarmouth, now rector of Fressingfield (8 n. Framlingham) Sf.

IV. e. Sf. is illustrated by a vv. cs. dictated by Mr. J. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough (2 ssw. Framlingham), a frequent visitor at Woodbridge when a boy, and long a resident at Stowmarket, and by the letter from Kettleborough in Moor's Suffolk Words, which I have conjecturally palaeotyped and hope to get revised by Mr. Grant. Then I have a complete wl. for Southwold (12 sw. Lowestoft on the coast) dictated to me by Miss Mallet, native, a teacher at Whiteland's, with numerous short examples, and a dt. from Orford (6 sw. Aldborough on the coast), by Mr. C. Davis, the son of a native and a frequent visitor. To these I add a wl. of numerous words from Moor's examples, which are on the whole very well written, with the pronunciation added conjecturally by myself.

V. w. Sf. Rev. C. W. Jones, native, in 1873 dictated to me a cs. for Pakenham, of which he is vicar. [Since this report was read, Mr. Jones has obligingly revisited me, to clear up doubts and difficulties, and this specimen, differing materially in pronunciation from those of e. Sf., will be given at length.]

Such is my work on the Existing Phonology of the English Dialects, so far as it has yet advanced. The collection of the materials has cost a large amount of time and labour, and although the work must necessarily be always incomplete, yet thanks to the numerous kind informants whom I have mentioned, and many others whose contributions though slighter have still been of much

use to me in the difficult process of mapping out the country, the result is very much more complete than I ever even dreamed of when my research was commenced. I hope I may have still life and strength enough to bring it to a conclusion, and that the remaining three divisions, the M., N. and L., for which my preliminary work is better advanced than it was for the first three divisions when I commenced preparing them for press, but which are sure to present unexpected difficulties and gaps, when I once begin seriously to take them in hand for a final redaction, may next May be at least as far advanced as the present three, S., W. and E., and that I then may really be able to go to press in the summer of 1887, though when I shall manage to finish the printing is another matter; but if all be well, and I am still able to do my work, I hope that that may happen in the autumn of 1888.

POSTSCRIPT.

The above being a report addressed to the Philological Society has reference only to the work which I am preparing for that Society. This work will enter into a number of minute particulars and give all the illustrations in palaeotype. It will also necessarily be very lengthy. For the English Dialect Society I am preparing a greatly condensed edition under the name of *English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes*, which will be on a much more popular plan, and have all the examples (of course much less numerous,) written in approximative glossic, with which that Society is already familiar. A special explanation of all the signs employed will be prefixed, and the same maps of England and Scotland given as in the Philological Society's edition. This I am writing in divisions corresponding to those here named, and have already completed the Southern, Western, and Eastern divisions, each one having been written immediately after that part of the larger work was finished. Hence the English Dialect Society's edition cannot be ready till the other is done. But as the two editions will be quite distinct, the printing may go on simultaneously, and as the smaller book will be

much easier to print, and pass more rapidly through the press, than the larger, I have some hope of having it ready at the end of 1887. The delay in bringing out this edition arises from the necessity of completing each section of the larger before I can write the corresponding section of the smaller, that is, from the necessity of knowing precisely what the facts are before I give them in a condensed and yet popular form. Although three divisions of the smaller book are completed, they could not be published separately, because they are entirely dependent upon the map, which of course gives the *Homes*, and must embrace the whole of England.—A.J.E.

SECOND REPORT ON DIALECTAL WORK.

BY ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S.

[*Read before the Philological Society, 6 May, 1887.*]

In my first Report of 7 May, 1886, I described my method of work, the nature of my preliminary matter, and the treatment of the Southern, Western and Eastern Divisions. This evening I have to announce the completion of the first draft for the Midland and Northern Divisions, that is, for the whole of England, except a narrow slip of Cu. and the n. slopes of the Cheviot Hills in Nb. (contractions used for county names &c., as in the first Report), which belong linguistically to the Lowland Division. This Lowland Division itself is so far arranged that I am able to give a sketch of what it will be, but the work on the Midland and Northern Divisions has proved too great for me to attempt completing the Lowland. When I realised to myself the impossibility of getting this part of my book done in time to produce it this evening, I turned my attention to the Maps of the Dialect Districts. As the Scotch map is mainly Dr. Murray's, the completion of the English Divisions enabled me to draw both the maps definitively, and I now lay them before you, with a Key which will explain their arrangement. These maps will accompany my *Existing Phonology of English Dialects*, forming Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*, and also my *English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes*, being an abridgment of the former for the English Dialect Society, having only a small portion of the illustrations translated into approximative Glossic.

THE TEN TRANSVERSE LINES.

In my last report I described three of these which entered into the portion of England then considered.

(1) The n. *sum* line, or northernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sum* (səm, sam) or even *som* (som).

(2) The s. *sōm* line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sōm* (su:m). It is in the space between lines 1 and 2 that the intermediate form *som* occurs.

(3) The reverted *ur* line, or northernmost limit of the general use of reverted *r* (R). This line I now begin in Wx. Ireland and make to pass through Pm. and Gm. in order to include D 1, 2, 3, while I have somewhat rectified its course through Wo. Wa. and Np., chiefly owing to recent observations by Mr. T. Hallam.

I have now to add seven other Transverse Lines of great importance in the mapping of Dialect Districts.

(4) The s. *teeth* (tiith) line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of the def. art. *the* as a suspended *t'* (t') or hissed *th* (th), not the voiced *th* (dh) as in the usual pron.; the word *teeth* conveniently combines the two sounds. The hiss (th) is the regular sound between lines 4 and 5, and in most of the intervening space, except D 24, the suspended (t') occurs only by assimilation. This line passes through s. Ch., n. St., s. Db., round s. and e. Nt., and goes to the sea by w. Li. and s. Yo.

(5) The n. *theeth* (dhiith) line, or northernmost limit of the use of *the* (dhi, dhv) or the hissed *th* (th) for the def. art. until we reach line 7. The pron. *the* is practically extinct long before we reach this limit, but still it is in occasional use, and, except in D 24, the hissed *th* (th) is regular. This line passes over the Isle of Man, which has *the* (dhv) exclusively, through m. La., across w. Yo. and to the s. of the North and East Ridings. It thus forms the s. boundary of the N. Div.

(6) The s. *hoose* (huus) line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of *house* as *hoose* (huus), which prevails everywhere to the n. of it. Like lines 1 and 2, this does not generally limit districts, as in fact *hoose* is the ancient pron., and it is only *house*, or its varieties, which are obtrusive and aggressive. The line passes n. of the Isle of Man, through s. Cu. in a zigzag form by n. La., s. We., and n. Craven in the West Riding of Yo., joining line 4 at the n. of Nt., and then running s. of the Isle of Axholme in n. Li., sweeping round to the sea near Great Grimsby.

(7) The n. *tee* line, or northernmost limit of the use of suspended *t'* (t') for the def. art., which singular usage is universal between lines 5 and 7. This line passes in a zigzag through n. Cu., and then along the n. of Weardale in Du., afterwards bending suddenly n. to just s. of Sunderland.

(8) The s. *sum* line, or southernmost limit (proceeding from Scotland) of the pron. of *some* as any variety of *sum*, such as (səm, sɜm, sœm), where the last is a singular middle sound developed between lines 8 and 9 in Nb. This line starts from the n. of the Solway Firth and goes nearly ene. to the border of Nb., then suddenly turns s. to meet line 7, which it subsequently follows to the sea. To the s. and w. of this line, in Cu., *sööm* (su,m) only is heard. To the e. and n. of it, in Nb., up to line 9, both *sööm* (su,m) and the curious (sœm) variety of *sum* may be noted.

(9) The n. *sööm* line, or northernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sööm* (sum, su,m). To the n. and w. of this line only *sum* (səm, sɜm) is heard. This line coincides with line 8 till that line deflects to the s., it then sweeps over the summit of the Cheviot Hills to the Cheviot Hill itself, after which it crosses Nb. to Bamborough.

(10) The s. L. line, or southernmost limit of true L. pron. This line coincides with line 9 as far as the Cheviot Hill, then continues the boundary of Nb. as far as Berwick-upon-Tweed, and finally skirts the n. boundary of the Liberties of that town.

MIDLAND DIVISION.

This division, comprising D 20 to 29, embraces the whole middle of England s. of line 5 and n. of the S. Div. It is by no means thoroughly homogeneous. We may distinguish an e. part, D 20, and a w. part, all the rest, but this w. part has also a n. form, n. of line 4, and a s. form, to the s. of it. Even then the n. part falls into two. Hence I distinguish a BM or Border Midland D 20, which is quite isolated, a NM or North Midland group D 21 to 24, a MM or Mid Midland group D 25 and 26, with an almost isolated EM or East Midland D 27, of which the connection with the MM group has almost disappeared, and finally a SM or South Midland group D 28 and 29. Many of these groups have also numerous varieties. There is no one general character, except the pron. *sōm* (*su:m*) of *some*, but this is not peculiar to the div., which is thus best defined by negatives, as decidedly not N or S, and even clearly differing from W and E. But the M div. is important in preserving the change of the old Saxon I', or *ee*, into long English *ī*, or (a'i), through an initial deepening of the sound, as (ii, *īi*, *īi*, *īi*, *ēi*, *ēi*, *ēi*), and then by easy stages to (æ'i, *ā'i*, *āi*). All these and other intermediate forms are found in the M. div. The old E' also passed into (ii), and that changed as above as far as (ē'i), but no further, shewing that this was a more recent change than that of original I'. The change of U' into *ow* (a'u) belongs to the N div.; but the numerous surprising changes of *ow* (a'u), when once reached, are remarkably well exhibited in the M. div.

Among consonants *r* when not before a vowel seems to me generally untrilled, and nearly if not quite vocalised. The aspirate is altogether lost. Even educated people seem to be as much unaware of its existence as we are in *honour*. The def. art. varies, as (dhe, dh, th, t') except in the SM group, where (dhe) only is used.

The chief constructional peculiarity is the use of the verbal plural in *-en*, as *they live-n*, *you know-n*. This is universal in D 21, 22, 25, 26, occasional in D 23, was formerly found in D 27, is plentiful in D 28, but in D 29 chiefly survives in contracted forms, and more in the w. than the e. *I am* is the regular form, *I be* is rare, though the negative *I ben't* is more heard. *I is* and *I are* are unused.

In D 21, 22, 25, 26, *hoo*, in various pronunciations (uū, *ə'u*, *ə'u*, *ūu*), is used for *she*, and in D 24 *shoo* (shuu, *sho*, *shē*) is used. For *girl*, *wench* is the usual word without any offensive suggestion.

D 20, or BM, which is conterminous with the county of Li., has for its great and peculiar character the large quantity of fractured vowels it uses, consisting mainly of an indistinct *er* (with *r* unsounded) tacked on to the received pron. I find it convenient to treat three V. (varieties).

V i, s.Li., I illustrate chiefly from Mr. Blasson, a surgeon, of Billingborough, 12 e. Grantham, who gave me a vv. (*vivā voce*) sitting.

V ii, m.Li., I have been able to illustrate from the dictation of Lord Tennyson and a lady to whom he recommended me, Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the late rector of Halton Holegate, 1 e. Spilsby, together with some wn. (words noted) by Mr. T. Hallam.

V iii, which has the peculiarity of using *oo* for *ow*, introduced for archaic effect, but not quite consistently, into Lord Tennyson's *Northern Farmer, old style*, I illustrate from vv. communications from Mr. Peacock, the author of the Glossary, and his daughter. I have also several other communications.

D 21, or s.NM, covers se. La. and nw. Db., and is I think the least altered of these NM forms, for which reason I place it first. Db. was the native county, as La. is the residence county of my principal M. informant, Mr. T. Hallam, to whom I have been so much indebted for so many years, and to whose good ear and unwearied investigations I owe most of my knowledge of the pron. of Db., La., Ch., St., Nt., Wa. and much of Le. Without his aid this most interesting region, instead of presenting the orderly appearance which I hope it will assume in my book, would have been a nearly hopeless tangle. I wish therefore to record my great obligations to Mr. T. Hallam for his invaluable assistance in collecting information and placing it at my disposal. I illustrate this district by three cs. (comparative specimens) as obtained and written from dictation by Mr. Hallam, for Staleybridge, Glossop, and Chapel-en-le-Frith (his native place), which, to facilitate comparison, I have transcribed interlinearly. To this is added a wl. (word list) of wn. (words noted) by Mr. T. Hallam at Rochdale, Oldham, Patricroft in La., and Hope Woodlands, Edale, and Peak Forest in Db. In this District U' becomes *ow* (á'u, áu).

D 22, or w.NM, contains the remainder of La. s. of the Ribble, and is divided into six V. (varieties). The differences are very minute, and are illustrated by a wl. for each V; four interlinear cs. for Vi Ormskirk, Vii Bolton, Viii Leyland, Vv Burnley; two interlinear dt. (dialect tests) for Viv Blackburn, and another for Vvi the Colne Valley, as it was 40 years ago, shewing the former existence of the guttural (kh). U' is here generally (aa, aa'), sometimes quite (ææ), and these are the sounds to be usually attributed to the mysterious La. *eaw*, invented by the author of *Tim Bobbin*, the classical s.La. book. I am chiefly indebted to Mr. T. Hallam for these, though I have had some other valuable assistance.

D. 23, or n.NM, comprises m.La. known as the Fylde. It is claimed to be purer than D 21, because it keeps (áu) for the U' words, itself an immense alteration from (uu). The verbal plural in *-en*, although disowned by some natives, is used in contracted forms. Even (kh) exists with some old people, but is dying out. This is illustrated by two cs. in parallel cols. for Poulton and Goosnargh, pal. from dictation by Mr. T. Hallam, and a dt. from Wyersdale, with a wl. from Poulton, Goosnargh, Kirkham and Wyersdale, from wn. by Mr. T. Hallam.

With D 23 I associate as a variety the Isle of Man. This of course is properly a Celtic region, but the English is now almost

universal, decidedly dialectal in character, and more like the speech of D 23 than that of any other part of the adjacent coast. The principal points of difference from the Fylde are *the* (dhv) at full for the def. art. and the total absence of the verbal pl. in *-en*. Also in the n. of the island, a dental *t* (t) is often used for *th*, as (tɪq) thing. Through an introduction from Mrs. Roscoe of Kensington, Mr. T. Hallam was able to take down a dt. from two Manx school teachers at Manchester, Miss Cannell and Miss Cublin, and subsequently he found other natives there, so that I am able to give three interlinear dt. from the n., nw. and s. parts of the island, together with a wl. obtained from these informants.

D 24, or e.NM, comprises that part of Yo. which lies s. of the n. *theeth* line 5, containing the large cities of the clothing districts, each of which, including the neighbouring villages, has its own peculiarities, so that I have been forced to consider nine Varieties, i Huddersfield, ii Halifax, iii Keighley, iv Bradford, v Leeds, vi Dewsbury, vii Rotherham, viii Sheffield, and ix Doncaster. The numerous comic tales which purport to be in these different dialects are untrustworthy as scientific guides from want of proper discrimination of localities, and have various orthographies perfectly unintelligible (like received English spelling) to those who are not previously familiar with the proper pronunciation. In this dilemma I was fortunate in making the acquaintance of Mr. C. Clough Robinson, author of a Leeds Glossary, a native of the neighbourhood of Leeds, who had spoken both the Leeds and Mid Yo. dialects in his youth, had had rare opportunities of consorting and conversing with the operatives in all these towns, and had devoted much attention to the different 'phases,' as he styled them, of Yo. dialects. He only wanted a phonetic alphabet to express himself in. With this I was able to supply him in July, 1873, when I taught him the use of Glossic. For several years afterwards he did a great deal of dialect work, and, among others, he sent me seven cs. for the first seven varieties of this district. Each was written in glossic, each carefully examined by me and sent back with queries, which he returned with long answers. So far as Mr. C. C. Robinson's memory served, these were as good specimens as could be procured. The only objection to the result is that it was all memory, and not, as in Mr. T. Hallam's case, written down fresh from the dictation of persons actually using the sounds. I doubt however whether for this particular district they could be much improved. Having got an eighth cs. written in systematic spelling by Prof. D. Parkes of Sheffield for that town, the pron. of which is practically the same as that of Rotherham, I give all eight specimens interlinearly; and the agreement between Mr. C. C. R.'s Rotherham and Prof. D. Parkes's Sheffield is nearly complete. We may observe a verbal pl. in *-en* appearing at Huddersfield and Halifax, and also at Rotherham and Sheffield, which adds to the Midland character of the District, though in the other varieties this does not appear. The first five varieties are also illustrated by wl. from various sources, including a valuable

one for Leeds by Mr. C. C. R. The last, V ix, has a wl. pal. (palaeotyped) by me from the dictation of Dr. Sykes of Doncaster.

Reduced to the most distinctive elements, D 24 represents O, O' by (óí, úr) as in (óíl, spúin) hole, spoon, and U' by (év, aa) as in (éus, aas) house.

D 25, or w.MM, contains Ch. and the Potteries in n. St. There are some very marked peculiarities in this district which have been localised especially by Mr. Hallam. Mr. Darlington, who is now printing a glossary of s. Ch. with introductory Essays on Grammar and Pronunciation, using Glossic with great ability and precision, is also doing good work. The chief characters, which I here express in palaeotype, are that U' becomes (ái) as (ái's) house, contrasting wonderfully with the (aa's, æas) of D 22, and (aas) of D 24, and the usual (a'us, áus) of D 21. The I' becomes (ái) varying to (A'í), with which it is regularly confused by dialect writers; this (ái) is always kept distinct from the (ái), so that *icehouse* would be (áisáis). The E' is (íi) varying to (éí) in m. Ch. and (é'í) in St. A- is (ii) in (tiil) tale, except in ne. Ch. and St., where it is (teel). And ÆG, EG are (ii), as (tiil, wii) tail, way, except in ne. Ch. and part of St., where (teel, wee) may be heard. O' is most frequently (æ'u), varying as (a'u) in St., thus (mæ'un, ma'un) moon. For illustrations I have three dt. from Bickley by Mr. Darlington, two from Sandbach, and Leek, both by Mr. T. Hallam, and four cs. from Tarporley, Middlewich, Pott Shrigley (with variants for the Dale of Goyt Db.), and Burslem, all written from native dictation by Mr. T. Hallam, followed by wl. for n. and s. Ch. and n. St.

D 26, or e.MM, comprises Db. s. of the Peak, excluding the tail which runs between St. and Le., and belongs phonetically to D 29. This is a remarkable contrast to D 21, which contains Db. n. of the Peak, representing E' by (é'í), I' by (ái), O' by (æ'u), and U' by (aa), as (gré'in, táim, kja'ul, daan) green, time, cool, down. This is illustrated by a cs. from V i Ashford, with variants from V i Bradwell, Taddington, Winster, V ii Ashbourn (from two informants), V iii Brampton, V iv Repton, from all of which places Mr. T. Hallam with great pains and trouble obtained versions of the cs. There are also wl. for each variety gathered from Mr. T. Hallam's wn.

D. 27, or EM, comprises only the co. of Nt. Suffieient is not known for me to assume other boundaries, and what is known with any degree of accuracy is due to Mr. T. Hallam's visits. On one of these he fortunately found a family at Bulwell, 4 nw. Nottingham, which could recollect that in 1844 keen, feet, rain, were called (kje'in, fe'it, riin) as in D 26, and who used a verbal pl. in -en, for which reasons I group D 27 with D 25, 26. The marked pron. is that U' becomes (āa), that is, the second element of the diphthong is (a), and this form is often triphthongised slightly by prefixing a faint (e), thus (d[e]aan) down, where [indicates faintness. But n. of Worksop the U' becomes (āu). This is illustrated by a dt. from Mansfield Woodhouse, 2 n. Mansfield, with variants from East Retford, Worksop, Mansfield, Bulwell,

and Newark. I add a brief extract from a cs. given me by Mr. F. Miles, the artist, a son of the former Rector of Bingham, as compared with the pron. of the same passage by a retired tradesman as recorded by Mr. T. H. There is also a wl. of wn. by Mr. T. H., shewing great uniformity over the county. One point is remarkable, considering that Nt. and Li. are conterminous for some way, namely, the total absence in Nt. of the fractures which are so conspicuous in Li., and consequently Nt. and Li. are entirely distinct.

D 28, or w.SM. This is a small district involving a portion of w. Fl., some of ne. Dn., both in Wales proper, all of detached or English Fl., a small part of n. Sh. and a still smaller part of w. Ch. It is a district not well known phonetically, but through Mr. T. Hallam's investigations I have been able to give some account of it. Its English is thoroughly dialectal, and though not homogeneous, is evidently connected with M. habits of speech. The general characters, which must be taken as a whole (the varieties referring to different parts), are: A- name (niim, neem). A' stone (stoon, stuun). E' green (griin) slightly leaning to (grün, grén). IH night (niit, ne'it), the last chiefly in 'good-night.' I' varies much, but may be taken as (di). O' noon (næ'un) as observed by Mr. T. H., but (níun) as felt by others. U is regularly (u) and U' is variable, but may be taken as (áu).

Four varieties are considered and illustrated by four interlinear dt. for the first three and a wl. for each separately, embracing a great number of places visited by Mr. T. H.

D 29, or s.SM. This is a very extensive district, comprising Sh. e. of Wem and the Severn, St. s. of Stone, a slip on n. of Wo., the greater part of Wa., the s. tail of Db. and all Le. It has occasioned both Mr. T. H. and myself great trouble to collect and coordinate the information, and much remains to be done still about the outskirts, which must be left to future investigators. Although the speech of this district is at once recognised in contrast with its immediate neighbours, it is difficult to fix on any definite characteristic. It is very homogeneous, and I have been unable to maintain a division into three parts which I formerly recognised. I have, however, proposed four varieties, with several subforms to the first three, which want of space prevents me from considering in detail in this report. The illustrations are first five interlinear cs., for V i from Cannock Chase, w.m.St., by Mr. T. H.; for V ii from Dudley, locally in s. St., obtained by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, in a carefully-written form which I have pal. as well as I could with the help of Mr. T. H.'s researches in the neighbourhood; for V iii from Atherstone Wa., pal. by me from dictation; for V iv I have two cs. from Waltham and Enderby, both Le., written by me from dictation of native students at the Whiteland's Training Coll., Chelsea. Also I am able to give 8 interlinear dt.; 4 for V i, from Edgmond Sh., Eccleshall St., Burton-on-Trent St., and Lichfield St., all pal. by Mr. T. H.; 3 for V ii from Wellington Sh., and Darlaston St., both pal. by Mr. T. H., and Coalbrookdale Sh., pal. by me from the writing of Rev. F. W. Ragg, and finally for V iv,

Belgrave Le., from the glossic of Miss C. S. Ellis. Besides these, I give several small scraps for V i from Burton-on-Trent, by Mr. T. H., and Barton-under-Needwood, by myself, for V ii from Darlaston and Walsall St., both by Mr. T. H. And finally, I give 9 wl. from various sources, 3 for V i, 3 for V ii, 2 for V iii, and 1 for V iv, the last containing a very full account of the pron. of Syston Le., taken vv. from Miss Adcock, native, a teacher at Whiteland's Training Coll. Altogether, therefore, I furnish a very full account of this interesting region, the Midland Counties proper.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

This comprises D 30, 31, and 32. It is bounded on the s. by the n. *theeth* (dhiith) line 5, and on the n. by the s.L. line 10, extending from sea to sea. Here again it is not by one form, but by parts of a combination, that the ear judges of a N. character. The whole region is distinguished, as regards the L. and M. divisions between which it lies, by two transitions, first of U' from oo (uu) to ow (a'u) in some form, and secondly of U from öö (u, u₁) to u (ə, æ). The first is a transition from L. to M., the second from M. to L. It is in the sw. part, D 31, that the former change is prepared, and in the n. part, D 32, that the latter change occurs. Generally, however, the preparation for ow (a'u) is not recognised. My informants in D 30 did not acknowledge it, and gave only U' = oo (uu). In D 31, however, the change was very clear, and extended over D 32, though most persons thought they were really saying oo (uu). And in D 32 none of the dialect books had prepared me for the intermediate sound between (æ, u₁), which I write (æ₁), and which came upon me quite as a surprise when I personally visited Nb. in Jan. 1879. In fact, all dialect books, and most informants that do not use a phonetic spelling, employ u simply for both (æ, u₁) or (ə, u), and also their intermediates (o, æ₁), which of course has occasioned me immense difficulties in my investigations.

Among the consonants the guttural (kh) may be said to be extinct, though it is marked in L. The letter r occasions much difficulty. On the e., when not preceding a vowel, it becomes vocalised or disappears. It is scarcely perceptible even on the w. In the n. it becomes uvular, but this is a mere defect of utterance and not a dialectal character.

D 30, or EN. This comprises most of the North Riding and all the East Riding of Yo. Its w. boundary is properly the edge of the hills which sink down into the great plain of Yo. The speech is wonderfully uniform throughout, yet I have found it advisable to make 4 varieties, Vi the Plain, Vii the Moors, Viii the Wolds, Viv the Marshland. My great assistant here, as in D 24, has been Mr. C. C. Robinson, who was from parentage and education nearly as familiar with Vi and ii as with D 24, witness his Mid. Yo. Glossary, in which he has used Glossic throughout. It is to be regretted that illness has obliged him to renounce all dialectal

work, and that I have not even been able to have his assistance in the final revision of the work he did for me in 1876. At that time, however, every specimen, originally written in Glossic, was strictly examined and discussed as in D 24. In V ii I have received much other assistance which has helped to check what he sent me. For V iii and V iv I had to trust to others, and the result is a consistent whole, in which I therefore feel general confidence.

The great characteristic of D 30, as contrasted with D 31, is the fractures which are substituted for Saxon A-, A', Æ, Æ', E-, EA', O', which sound exactly like *ear* or *air* in London with no trill (*iv*, *éev*), of which the first is more common in the n. part, while either of the two sounds may be used in the s. part. In the case of A', O, there is the further alternative of *oor* as in *poor* (*úuv*). The next great peculiarity is the use of *ah* (aa) for I', as *tahm* (taam) time, *wahd* (waad) wide. In V iii, however, before voiceless consonants (*éi*, *e'i*) is heard, but so rooted is the use of (aa) in V i, that Mr. C. C. R., who belongs to that variety, and did not profess to know V iii, could not persuade himself that the other forms ever occurred. The definite art. throughout D 30 and 31 is simply suspended (t'), and in Holderness V iii, according to the glossarists, it entirely disappears. In V i at Washburn River, according to Mr. C. C. R., the hissed (th) may be heard. *I is* (aaz) is the universal form.

The illustrations begin with 10 interlinear es.; for V i from Mid Yo., Northallerton, New Malton, Lower Niddersdale, and Washburn River, all by Mr. C. C. Robinson, and s. Ainsty, by Mr. Stead, a native, one of the authors of the Holderness Glossary; for V ii, from s. Cleveland and ne. Coast, also by Mr. C. C. Robinson; for V iii, from Market Weighton, pal. by myself from the dictation of Rev. Jackson Wray, a native, author of *Nestleton Magna*, and several dialectal works, and from Holderness by Mr. Stead. Then follow 4 interlinear dt. all for V ii, from Danby, by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary; from Whitby, by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary; for the Moors generally, by Rev. John Thornton, all three in their own spellings, and from Skelton, originally written by Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, of that place, and read to me by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, native, a friend of Mr. I. W., then a student in the Wesleyan Training Coll., Westminster, and revised by Mr. T. Dawson Ridley, of Coatham, Redcar. Next follow 3 interlinear dt.; for V iii from East Holderness, by Mr. Stead; for Sutton, 3 ne. Hull, written in Glossic by Mr. E. French, long resident in Hull; and for V iv from Goole, by the late Rev. Dr. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had been curate there, and from whose reading I pal. it. Finally, I have 4 wl., for V i from Mid Yo., by Mr. C. C. Robinson, very full; for V ii from Danby in Cleveland, by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, and from Whitby by the late F. K. Robinson; for V iii a very full wl., pal. by me from the dictation of Rev. Jackson Wray; and for Holderness, n. part by Mr. S. Holderness, w. part by Mr. F. Ross, and e. part by Mr. Stead, the

three authors of Holderness Glossary for those divisions respectively (who bestowed great pains upon it, and Mr. Stead gave me his part vv. and interpreted the other parts); and from Snaith, 18 s. by e. York, by Rev. T. W. Norwood, 40 years acquainted with the dialect.

D 31, or WN. This large tract of country comprises s. Du., w. and m. Cu., all We., the hundred of Lonsdale n. and s. of the Sands in n. La. and the hilly part of w. Yo. to the west of a line drawn from the Tee's mouth up to Croft, and then down to Middleham in Wensleydale, and Burley-on-the-Wharfe, and to the n. of the n. *theeth* line 5. Although there is on the whole great uniformity and homogeneousness throughout the whole region, I find it best to distinguish six Varieties. V i consists briefly of w. Yo., comprising Upper Swaledale and Upper Wensleydale n. of the s. *hoose* line 6, and north Craven s. of it, all other points but the use of *ow* instead of *oo* for U' remaining unaltered. V ii contains all n. La. and extreme s. Cu., all s. of line 6, comprising Lancaster, Cartmell, Furness, and Bootle. V iii consists of We. s. of the watershed, which (as well as Furness) uses the Danish *at* instead of *to* before the infinitive. V iv consists of the basin of the river Eden in We., n. of the watershed, and e. Cu. V v consists of w. Cu.; and V vi of s. Du., Weardale, and Teesdale.

In this wild district, which seems among its hills to have preserved a much older form of speech than the plains of Yo., I have been peculiarly fortunate in securing the assistance of Mr. J. G. Goodchild, of the Government Geological Survey, who was stationed there for many years, and became familiar with the talk of the people, and was able to obtain many cs. and wl. which he wrote in palaeotype with photographic minuteness and the greatest conscientiousness. These results also he was able to revise again and again with his original informants. Finally, he spent many, at least twenty, evenings with me, going over each cs. and wl. separately, and finally settling with me the best palaeotypic forms. I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to him for all the labour, which he has most liberally bestowed upon this work.

The general character of this district may be taken as follows. A-, A' are fractures in which each element seems to have the stress, the first being a deep (*i*₁), verging towards (*e*), and the second a high bright (*a*₁) as in French and Italian, thus (*n*₁*á*₁*m*, *kl*₁*à*₁*z*, *h*₁*á*₁*m*) name, clothes, home. E' becomes (*é*) consisting of a short (*e*) with the stress, and a long or medial (*i*), and this termination so usurps the place of the whole that the natives consider they use simple *ee* (*ii*). The I' is (*âi*) as (*tâim*) time, not (*taam*) at all. The O' is generally (*ú*). The U' is (*ú*,*u*), that is, the first element is a thickened (*u*) in full, taken very near to (*o*), followed by the proper (*u*). Thus (*ú*,*u*) approaches very near (*óu*), and is the principal form under which *oo* (*uu*) passes into *ow* (*a'u*). There is another transitional form heard in V vi, where (*uu*) is commenced with an indistinct *a* in *idea*, the true *u* being lengthened,

thus (vû), the effect of which is not unlike the M. (æ'u). Each of the three forms (û,u, vû, æ'u) is conceived by the speakers as oo (uu), and each generates ow (a'u).

The principal illustration of this interesting district consists of 22 interlinear cs., of which the first and last two are added to shew the contrast with D 30 on the one hand, and the relation to D 32 on the other. For V i there are 2 cs. from Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale, wonderful pieces of phonetic writing by Mr. J. G. G., the Craven portion being otherwise represented. For V ii there is a cs. from Cartmel by Mr. T. H., and another from Coniston, written by the old postmaster Mr. Rôger Bowness, and pal. by me from the reading of Miss Bell. In the introduction to V ii I give Mr. R. B. Peacock's versions of the *Song of Solomon* chap. ii. from *Trans. Philological Soc.* 1867, part ii., pal. by me from his key, *ibid.* p. 11, assisted by two wl. for V ii, mentioned below. Then for V iii there are six cs. all pal. by Mr. J. G. G. for Kirkby Lonsdale We., Dent and Sedberg in Yo., and Kendal, Long Sleddale and Orton in We. Next for V iv there are six cs. all pal. by Mr. J. G. G., and some many times revised, for Kirkby Stephen, Crossby Ravensworth, Temple Sowerby (from the late Mrs. Atkinson), Milburn, all in We., and Langwathby (from the late Miss Powley, the Cu. poetess, sister of the above Mrs. Atkinson) and Ellonby, both in Cu. For V v there are three cs., one pal. by Mr. J. G. G. from Mr. Postlethwaite for Keswick, one pal. by me from Mr. Hetherington, son of the late vicar of Clifton, near Workington (the late Mr. Dickinson, author of the Cu. Glossary, also sent me a cs. from Workington, but as I had no opportunity of hearing him read it, I have used Mr. Hetherington's instead), and one from Holme Cultram or Abbey Holme, from the dictation of the Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, near Coniston.

The Craven form of V i is illustrated by quite a unique specimen, William Seward's *Familiar Dialogue* for Burton-in-Lonsdale Yo., 13 ne. Lancaster, printed in 1801, very rare, and lent me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which Mr. J. G. G. has palaeotyped from the reading of the postmaster of the place, a contemporary and fellow-townsmen of the author. This will be given interlinearly with the original spelling, a good specimen of its kind, but utterly inadequate for the present purpose.

V vi is illustrated by a dt. from Stanhope, Weardale, by Mr. Egglestone, author of those excellent dialect books, *Betty Podkins' Visit to Auckland Flower Show* and *Letter to the Queen on Cleopatra's Needle*, with the principal variants from three other dt. (1) for Heathery Cleugh, from Mr. Dalton, the schoolmaster, at the request of Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh, rector of Edmondbyers, n. Du.; (2) for Bishop Auckland, by Mr. J. Wild, master of the Union Workhouse, at the request of the then vicar, Rev. R. Long; and (3) from Easington and Hart Du., by Miss E. P. Harrison, daughter of the vicar.

Finally, I give five wl. (1) for V i from North Craven, that is, Burton-in-Lonsdale, Chapel-le-Dale, and Horton-in-Ribblesdale,

pal. from the dictation of three informants by Mr. J. G. G.; (2) and (3) for V ii, the first for Lonsdale, s. of the Sands, chiefly from wn. by Mr. T. H., and the second from High Furness, partly from Mr. T. H.'s collections, and partly from a wl. written by Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, Coniston, and pal. by me from the reading of Miss Bell, whom he especially recommended for her dialectal knowledge; (4) for V iii from Dent and Howgill (in Yo., but practically part of We.), pal. by Mr. J. G. G. from dictation, and the latter verified by me; (5) from St. John's Weardale, pal. by Mr. J. G. G., and from Middleton-in-Teesdale, by Rev. John Milner, rector, conjecturally pal. by myself.

D 32, or NN. This comprises a small portion of Cu. about Carlisle and Brampton, avoiding the northernmost parts about Longtown and Bewcastle; with the n. of Du. and the whole of Nb. except the n. slopes of the Cheviots, which are L. Six varieties are recognised, V i n.Cu., V ii n.Du., V iii sw.Nb., V iv se.Nb., V v m.Nb., and V vi n.Nb.

The character is that of transition for U from (u_1) through (œ_1) already mentioned, to (æ). In V i we have only (u_1), in V vi we have only (æ), the transition therefore is effected in the intermediate varieties. The fractures ($i, i, \acute{u}_1 u$) exist, though they were not always dictated to me, and the former often sinks to (éi), while the latter thickens to (óu) occasionally, so nearly that I often so wrote it from dictation. The I' generates a diphthong, which I heard like my own i (é'i , $\acute{a}'i$), but which is felt by natives as (éi , æ'i). The treatment of O' varies as (iú , iiv , iœ_1), and never approaches French u (y), but it is curiously enough written ui in the *Pitman's Pay*, the classical dialect book. The A, A' is (a'), the high northern sound, like French and Italian, but it is written *aw* in the *Pitman's Pay* as if it were (a).

In V iii there is a peculiar pron. of A' as *oh* (œo), which seems greatly to amuse the Newcastle people. The def. art. is always *the*. *I am* and *I is* (àm , àz) are both used, but the latter is most frequent. At Chillingham and Chatton they pron. the initial Ch. as (sh), and Chillingham is the only name ending in *-ingham* which is pronounced (-iqem); all others, as Bellingham, Ovingham, have (-indjem) as if written *-injam*. The burr or uvular r extends to Berwick, and to Falstone and Keilder on the n. slopes of the Cheviots, and uncertainly into n. Du. Although no really dialectal character, its nature and extent of use are fully investigated.

The illustrations of V i, Carlisle and Knaresdale Nb., by Mr. J. G. G., are given in D 31 in the 22 interlinear cs., because they so much resemble the rest of Cu. For V i South Shields Du., V iv Newcastle-on-Tyne, V vi Berwick-on-Tweed, I give three interlinear cs. pal. by myself from dictation of Messrs. Pyke, Barkas, and Gunn respectively. For the rest I give 22 interlinear dt., of which 11 were pal. from dictation by myself, and the others pal. from written instructions and neighbouring analogues.

Finally, I add three wl., one for V i from Brampton Cu., obtained by Mr. J. G. G.; another for V ii from South Shields, from the

glossic of Rev. C. Y. Potts, native; and a third for V iii and V iv, to contrast the sw. and se. Nb., by Rev. George Rome Hall, of Birtley, 9 nnw. Hexham, and Rev. Hugh Taylor, then of Humshaugh, 4 m. nearer Hexham, who had been 40 years acquainted with the speech of the pitmen.

This finishes the five Divisions of England, and thus much I have complete in first draft now shewn, with the exception of the preliminary matter, which must wait till the rest of the book is printed, as constant reference to the printed pages will be necessary. It will contain the maps and key to the same, now shewn, the cs. and dt. in ordinary spelling, the wl. with all the words numbered and derivations of the words when known, forming a key to all subsequent wl., and a reversed alphabetical index of the words,—so far all is ready. Then will follow a new key to Palaeotype, including all the additional signs and contrivances which dialectal investigations have rendered necessary, referring to the pages in which they are specially explained or used, but not going beyond the requirements of this book. Then there will be the Alphabetical County List, continually referred to in my book, giving first the Counties of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in alphabetical order for each county, and then under the county the alphabetical list of places whence information has been obtained, with the name of the informant and nature of the information, naming the district to which it is assigned, and the page where it is treated, forming a geographical index to the book. The slips for this list, so far as it could be completed, are all written, and have been constantly used. This will be accompanied by an alphabetical list of informants, referring each to the county and place simply. This recognition of my informants, without whose assistance and valuable services I could have done nothing, is indispensable, and I wish here to express my grateful sense of their most liberally and cheerfully accorded help, often laborious, occasionally expensive, and very generally inconvenient to themselves.

Not only is Part V. of *Early English Pronunciation* so far advanced, but my abridgment of it for the English Dialect Society has been fully written up to the same point. The preliminary work here consists of a new key to Glossic as there used in an approximative form for general dialectal purposes, requiring the minimum of study to acquire, a matter which I had seriously to consider, for I find that to even clever and well-informed men any *system* of spelling by sound seems utterly bewildering, due, I suppose, to the unsystematic character of our present orthography.

LOWLAND DIVISION.

This important Division has been partly treated by Dr. J. A. H. Murray in his *Dialects of the South of Scotland*, and my first intention was merely to add a few illustrations. I have had to do much more, but I have not attempted to treat L. so exhaustively as the English divisions. Dr. Murray's districts will be preserved,

but the numbering and positional names of the districts are mine, and the only changes I make are in the s. border of D 33, SL., next England, and the addition of the Orkneys and Shetlands, D 41 and 42, which Dr. Murray had omitted.

In order to shew the general relations of all parts of L. with each other, and with England, I commence with eight interlinear cs. for D 33, from Bewcastle to Longtown Cu., and Hawick, Roxburghshire; for D 34, from Edinburgh; for D 36, from Stranraer, Wigtonshire; for D 38, from Arbroath, Forfar; for D 39, for Keith, Banff; for D 40, for Wick, Caithness; and D 42, for Dunrossness, Shetland. The first was pal. by Mr. J. G. G.; Hawick was written in pal. by Dr. Murray. Edinburgh, Arbroath, Keith, were palaeotyped by Dr. Murray from the writing of Mrs. C. Murray, Mr. Anderson, and the Rev. Walter Gregor; and Stranraer, Caithness, and Dunrossness were pal. from dictation of natives by myself. These are quite ready.

Then I give five versions of Ruth chap. i., three from Dr. Murray's book, for D 33 Teviotdale, D 35 Ayr, and D 39 Buchan, contrasted with one for D 25 by Mr. Darlington, for s. Ch. in the M. div., and another for D 10 by Mr. Elworthy, for w. Sm., in the S. div., which admirably shew the difference between the English and L. divisions. These also are ready written. By this means all the districts are illustrated except D 37 and D 41, but, as shewn below, I have succeeded in illustrating these, although in other ways, and have generally been able to obtain other specimens for each district, most of which will be mentioned.

D 33, or SL, Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties*, comprises e. Dumfries, Selkirk and Roxburghshire in Scotland, and a strip of Cu. and Nb. in England. This is the district of Dr. Murray's *Dialects of the South of Scotland*. His wl. (*ibid.* pp. 144-149) will be reproduced, augmented by himself, and rearranged as in my other wl., with the pron. of every word in pal., an entirely new feature. This will be, at least in part, contrasted with wl. pal. from dictation by Mr. J. G. Goodchild for Liddisdale Head, Roxburgh town, Teviotdale Head and Selkirk. Several sentences are added, written from dictation in *Visible Speech* by Mr. A. Melville Bell, and pal. by me with corrections in a consultation with himself, his son, and Dr. Murray.

Dr. Murray's *Central Group* consists of D 34 to 37, and in fact D 35 to 37 are little better than varieties of D 34.

D 34, or e.ML, Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife*, is the dialect generally thought of when we name L. It has been very slightly treated in Dr. Murray's book, being as much known to Scotchmen as received speech is to us, but requires to be explained to Southrons. It comprises the counties of *Berwick*, *Clackmannan*, *Edinburgh* or *Mid Lothian*, *Fife*, *Haddington* or *East Lothian*, *Kinross*, *Linlithgow*, *Peebles*, and e. *Stirling*. From those in *Italics* I have specimens; for *Chirnside Bw.* a wl. and dt. by Rev. G. Wilson, *Free Church*, *Glenluce*, *Wigtonshire*; for *Mid Lothian* some of Mr. Melville Bell's sentences corrected as before; and the

same for Fife, and the numerals in the same way for Peebles. A wl. has also been prepared containing all the words in these specimens.

D 35, or w.ML, Dr. Murray's *Clydesdale*, is the land of Burns, and differs almost imperceptibly, so far as written evidence goes, from D 34. It comprises a strip on the s. of Argyll, the n. of *Ayrshire*, the s. of Bute, e. and s. of Dumbarton, *Lanark* and *Renfrew*. From Lanark there are Mr. Melville Bell's sentences corrected as before. From Coylton a wl. and dt. by Rev. Neil Livingston representing the Kyle district of m.Ayr. Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* was written phonetically in the alphabet I used in 1847, by Mr. T. Laing in 1848, when he was living in Kilmarnock, (where Burns's poems were first published in 1786,) in a house formerly much frequented by Burns. This transcription was revised by the late Mr. Carstairs Douglas (subsequently a missionary in China), and six Glasgow students, and was published by me in the *Phonetic Journal* for 1848. After being pal. by me with corrections from other sources, it was kindly revised with me by R. Giffen, Esq., LL.D., F.S.S., to whom I was introduced by Dr. Murray, whose *Ayrshire* translation, Ruth chap. i., he had also revised. There is also a wl. compiled from several sources.

D 36, or s.ML, Dr. Murray's *Galloway and Carrick*, comprises s. *Ayrshire*, w. *Dumfries*, *Kirkcudbright* and *Wigtownshire*, from all of which I have illustrations. Mr. John Love, of New Cumnock, in 1848 read to me Burns's *Duncan Gray*, which was the first piece of dialect I ever wrote from dictation, long before I commenced dialect work proper, and merely as an experiment. From Tynron, 14 n.w. *Dumfries*, there are notes; from Kirkpatrick Durham, *Kirkcudbright*, a wl. by Rev. W. A. Stark, and from Glenuce a wl. by Rev. George Wilson. There is also a wl. compiled from these sources.

D 37, or w.ML, Dr. Murray's *Highland Border*, where L. is still fighting its way into Gaelic, comprises nw. *Fife*, w. *Forfar*, e. *Perth* and w. *Stirling*. From Newburgh-on-Tay there is a dt. by Dr. Alexander Laing, and from e. *Perth* a dt. pal. in 1881 from the dictation of three students from Whiteland's Training College, two native, and one from Manchester that had been 13 years at *Perth*. Also I excerpted a number of words from a novel called *Enga*, the scene of which is apparently laid near Errol e.Pr., and then pal. them from the dictation of these students.

D 38 to 40 form Dr. Murray's *North-Eastern Group*.

D 38, or s.NL., Dr. Murray's *Angus*, comprises e. *Forfar* and s. *Kincairdine*. The border between D 37 and D 38 is not very distinctly known, and by Dr. Murray's advice I have placed it a little more to the w. than on his map, so that the line runs from a little w. of Dundee through Kirriemuir and Clova, 5 and 15 nw. *Forfar*, to join the CB. or Celtic Border (as I now name it) on the Grampians. From *Arbroath*, *Forfarshire*, I have the es. already mentioned; from Dundee a dt. pal. by me in 1881 from dictation of a student at Whiteland's, who had been there 16 years. From Glenfarquhar, 11 w. by s. *Stonehaven*, I have a wl. and dt. by Mr. J. Ross, native, rector of the High School at *Arbroath*. The chief

peculiarity of this district is the restriction of the use of (f) for *wh* (*kwh*) to the following few words: who, when, where, what, whose, which, whether, how = why, whitterel a weasel, whorl = a wheel, called (fa, fe'n, faar, fat, fes, fæl, fodher, fun, fateret, foorl). Here also begins the curious pron. of short *i*, which sounded to me at various times as (*i*, e, ə, æ).

D 39, or m.NL., Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen*, the central district of the group, comprises *Aberdeen*, *Banff*, e. Cromarty, Elgin, n. Kincardine, and n. Nairn. From Aberdeenshire I have some sentences from Mr. Melville Bell, corrected as before; for the Buchan district (now called Deer and Ellon, ne. Aberdeen) not only the Ruth chap. i. already mentioned, but a wl. by Dr. Findlater, and to this I have added a selection of words from the novel *Johnny Gibb of Gushetnook*, and the tales called *Life among my Ain Folk*, by the same author, both among the best printed pieces of dialect that I have met with. From Tarland, 5 nw. Aboyne, 30 ne. Aberdeen, I have some excellent specimens written in my "Ethnical Alphabet" by the late Mr. S. Innes, a local farmer, who died 1866. These were gone over with me in 1883 by Jane Morrison, a servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, native, fresh from the country, and who knew Mr. Innes by name. From Keith, Banffshire, I have not only the cs., but a complete wl. by Rev. Walter Gregor, pal. by me from his dictation.

D 40, or n.NL., Dr. Murray's *Caithness*, comprises the ne. of *Caithness*, for which I have only the cs. already mentioned.

The Island Groups of Orkney and Shetland were not treated by Dr. Murray. In fact, they are inhabited by descendants of Norse who have lost their native language and speak English learned from Scotchmen with a Norse leaning, so that the whole is a very strange mixture. These dialects I am able to illustrate very fairly well.

D 41. The Orkneys keep up their dialect only in the Northern Isles, and in relation to them Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, of West Brough, Sanday, Orkney, has written an admirable dialect book, called the *Orcadian Sketch-Book*, 1880. In Aug. 1884, he was kind enough, being in London, to go over his *Peter Toral's Travellie* (=fall-through) with me, and assist me in the wl. I had formed.

D 42. The Shetlands. Here I have had the assistance of Mr. Arthur Laurensen of Lerwick, and Miss A. B. Malcolmson, a native, from whose dictation in 1878 I pal. what Mr. L. had written, and also the cs. from Dunrossness before mentioned.

RESULTS.

All this inquiry arose from my investigation of the sound of long *i* in Chaucer, when I appealed to the preservation of the (ii) sound in English Dialects (E. E. P. Part I. p. 291). It was continued with the hope of discovering in the dialects some remnants of older pronunciation. Having now completed my phonetic survey of England, and glance at Scotland, the question arises, What are the results? At the end of my book, after having carefully reconsidered every point, I hope I may be able to answer

this question properly. In the mean time a few matters may be briefly mentioned.

Dialectal pron. like received pron. has altered considerably, and is altering very fast all over the country. My investigations occasionally reach back 30 or 40, sometimes 70 or 80, and even 100 years by means of living speech, and hence my term *Existing Phonology* must be extended to mean existing during the last hundred years. But the very oldest living form I have been able to reach was itself only a recent formation, and implied a previous succession of changes. Have we any clue as to their nature or law? I think we have, but I am not yet prepared to formulate it concisely. Something may be collected from what follows.

The divisions which I have been led to form from almost purely phonetic, quite independently of any historical, considerations, point to at least three distinct aboriginal differences in the speech of the immigrant tribes, afterwards affected by their contacts with other habits of speech. These were certainly Southern, Midland, and Northern. But even these were not uniform, especially the Midland. The great complexity of pron. at present existing in North Germany, (whence came the English tribes,) as shewn by my account of Winkler (E. E. P. Part IV. pp. 1369-1431), makes this *à priori* probable, and actual examination of existing forms confirms this probability. But to secure a standard of comparison I take the literary Wessex forms. It is scarcely necessary to say that I do not suppose that the forms I find in the NM. for example or the NN. were derived from these forms, which belong more likely to the MS. But that is of no consequence. We may, if we please, regard these Ws. (Wessex) forms as simply literary. The categories of my wl. are those of this literary language, and it is a great convenience to use them, in place of the utter confusion resulting from following the categories of our modern orthography, as shewn by accounts of pronunciation at present existing.

Now there are great puzzles in the transformation of Ws. into received speech, and these the dialects help us to appreciate. The short vowels A, E, I, O, and, between the transverse lines 1 and 8, U in closed syllables, are possibly now in our dialects what they were in King Alfred's time. The change of U from (u) to (ə) is explained partially by the existing intermediates already mentioned, (o) in the s. and (œ) in the n. When the long A', E', I', O', U' were shortened in speech, they remained of the same quality of sound, and when they were not shortened, they were fractured. Most of the cases of long i in the table on p. 291 of my E.E.P. are not to the point, as they refer to modern, not Wessex, pron. They will be considered with many others at the end of my book. The words *could*, *but*, *us*, are all cases of U' shortened, and hence preserved in sound (kud) even in received speech, (*but*, *uz*). A short vowel is however often made medial and then long. Thus Ws. *bitel* became shortened to (bi't'l), a form still existent in Wl. and this was lengthened to (biit'l) beetle insect, in ordinary speech, whereby it became confused with *beelle* a mallet, derived

by a regular and recent change from Ws. *bétel*. Again, *shire*, Ws. *scire*, had a short vowel, preserved in a lengthened form in the almost universal dialectal (*shiir*), the received (*sha'ir*) being quite recent and entirely orthographical. Such instances are numerous.

The great puzzle, however, in Ws. was the fractures. Grimm calls only EA, EO, IE, fractures (*Brechungen*), considering them to be short, while EA', EO', IE' are termed diphthongs, because they are long. The distinction is literary, not phonetic. The puzzle was to know how they were pronounced, especially the latter. Now our living dialects are full of fractures, under which I include diphthongs, because they have the same phonetic character of a glide connecting two vowels, either or perhaps both of which may be long, and either or both of which may have the stress, which by no means necessarily lies on the long vowel. In Ws. *breáð* (*bréáð*) bread, possibly both elements had the stress, but certainly the first had it and was short, and the second, whether it had it or not, was certainly long. The Coniston (*níáv*) knave is a precise analogue. It is in D 31 that the fractures are best preserved with distinct elements. Elsewhere the first element generally usurps the stress, and the second becomes indistinct, and then often a curious metathesis takes place, the stress passing over to the second element, and the first, if (*i*, *u*), is generally conceived as consonantal, and in the received pron. of *one* has certainly become consonantal. This *one* is I think the only example of a fracture, not being a commonly recognised diphthong, which remains in received speech. We had Ws. A'N and the fracture, regular in many places with A', was (*úvn*), which by metathesis of stress became (*üv'n*) now (*wøn*).

By peculiar fracturing also I', U' have fallen into (*a'i*, *a'u*), every step being illustrated in the M. districts for I', and in D 31 for U', as already indicated. The change of E' into (*ii*) is also explained through the common form, not M. only, of (*éi*) leading to (*éi*), when (*e*) becomes lost in fact, as it has been long lost in feeling, to those who say (*éi*). O' is very varied in treatment. We have no (*óu*) as an analogue to (*éi*) so far as I know, but the change from (*oo*) to (*uu*) took place in the xvth century or earlier, as also the change of E' from (*ee*) to (*ii*), and it seems to be upon (*uu*) as a change from O' that there arose those curious forms adumbrating Fr. *u*, which serve to explain the Fr. *u* itself.

The above are merely discursive remarks, shewing some of the immediate applications of this investigation within its own limits, and roughly indicating a few of the points requiring careful treatment hereafter. And it will doubtless be reserved to some future philologist, possibly of German extraction, to exploit my materials properly. But I consider the main value of my investigations not to be specially English, but generally philological, as respects related forms of words. We have hitherto had to treat these as relations of groups of letters rather than groups of sounds. The third ed. of the first part of Grimm's grammar is a striking example of what I mean. Now the old writers were clever men no doubt, but probably no great phonetists—at any rate modern writers of

dialect have not proved themselves to be so. The old writers grounded their writing on the pron. of Latin in their time. The Dutch and Germans and Italians have chosen their own interpretation of the alphabet. They were of course different. The trouble I had with Winkler's notations (Part IV. pp. 1371-3) shews the difficulties of interpreting them. Hence we cannot assume the old notation, however much theoretically rectified and enlarged (as by the introduction of two forms of E, O), to be absolutely perfect. The orthography used by myself is not so. The ears which heard the sounds did not always hear correctly, and I cannot claim myself to have always rightly interpreted the data of my informants. But at any rate I here present for the first time in a uniform orthography, carefully prepared, elaborated and explained, the pronunciation of one language in its various forms, extending over a sufficiently wide area, from Land's End to the Shetlands, and offering sufficiently striking contrasts, deriving my information, not from books of dead authors impossible to verify or explain by immediate intercourse, but from living men and women who either themselves speak the dialect, or have had long and constant intercourse with natural speakers, and who were not only capable of being interviewed, but have actually been frequently interviewed or examined on paper in the course of long correspondence till something approaching to certainty had been evolved. The numerous illustrations therefore which I present are a fund for future philological investigation, and I shall spare no pains in giving them correctly to the linguist as I have spared no pains or labour or time in collecting them, from numerous most obliging informants.

DATES.

In conclusion, I add some dates concerning my *Early English Pronunciation*, of which the present investigation forms a part, as I wish to preserve them in connection with an undertaking that has occupied me for so many years.

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| <p>1848, June, first attempt at writing dialectal pronunciation from dictation, being <i>Duncan Gray</i>.</p> <p>1859, Feb. 14, on this (Valentine's) day I discovered in the British Museum Salesbury's "Dictionary in Englyfhe and Welfh—wherevnto is prefixed a little treatyse of the englyfhe pronuciacion of the letters," 1547, which was the origin of my paper in 1867, and hence of the whole of my work on <i>Early English Pronunciation</i> (E. E. P.) and the present inquiry into dialectal phonology.</p> <p>1866, Dec. Paper on "Palaeotype, or the representation of Spoken Sounds for philological purposes by means of the Ancient Types," to the Philological Society (Ph. S.). This was the alphabet</p> | <p>which made my E. E. P. and investigations of Dialectal Phonology possible, as no new types were required.</p> <p>1867, Feb. Paper to Ph. S. on the Pronunciation of English in the xvth century, the foundation of my E. E. P.—Oct. Began the MS. of E. E. P.</p> <p>1868, Aug. First dialectal information written from dictation at Norwich.</p> <p>1869, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part I. For dialectal collections, see pp. 227 and 291.—Aug. Publication of E. E. P., Part II.</p> <p>1870, April. Paper on Glossic to the Ph. S., printed entirely in Glossic in the Transactions, with Key to Universal Glossic. This is the alphabet in my <i>English Dialects</i></p> |
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- their Sounds and Homes*, for the English Dialect Society, and it has been used in many of that Society's publications.
- 1871, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part III., with a *Notice* starting my systematic enquiry into the Pronunciation of English Dialects, and giving a table of "presumed Varieties of English pronunciation." In a reprint of this, widely circulated, containing a Key to Glossic, and called "Varieties of English Pronunciation," I suggested the formation of an *English Dialect Society*, which has subsequently done good work.
- 1872, April and May, Papers on Diphthongs to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.
- 1873, Feb. Paper on Accent and Emphasis to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—May, Paper on Final E to the Ph. S., to form part of E. E. P., Part VI.—Sept. First edition of the Comparative Specimen (cs.) used for collecting information on dialectal pronunciation.
- 1874, Jan. Paper on Physical Theory of Aspiration to the Ph. S. incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—March. Paper on Vowel Changes in English Dialects to the Ph. S.—Dec. Publication of E. E. P., Part IV.
1875. Paper on the classification of the English Dialects to the Ph. S.—June, second edition of cs.
- 1876, March. Lecture on Dialects to the London Institution, when my first large Dialectal Map was drawn and shewn, leaving a blank from the Wash to Sussex.—July to Sep. Going over the whole of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's Dialect Library, and making extracts for this work.—Dec. The London Institution Lecture repeated at Norwood. These lectures were most important preliminary work for the investigation.
- 1877, Mar. Paper on Dialectal Phonology to the Ph. S.—Oct. Issue of my original Word-Lists (wl.) suggested by the last paper.
- 1879, Jan. Two lectures on Dialects at Newcastle-on-Tyne, with the large map reconstituted and gaps filled in, whence I got much information for N. div.—Feb. Issue of my Dialect Test.—April and May, two reports to the Ph. S. on the state of my investigations.
- 1880, Oct. Lecture on Dialects to Working Men's College.
- 1882, Dec. Paper on Dialects of South of England to Ph. S.
- 1882, April. Paper on the Dialects of Midland and Eastern Counties to the Ph. S.
- 1883, March. Paper on the Dialects of the Northern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Lecture on Dialects to the College for Men and Women.—Nov. Paper on the Lowland Dialects (Mainland) to the Ph. S.
- 1884, April. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Insular) and of the Isle of Man to the Ph. S.
- 1885, May. I made a report to the Ph. S. on the Dialectal Work I had done since 19 Nov. 1883.
- 1886, May. First Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.
- 1887, May. Second Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.

To account for some of the delays and gaps I may mention that in 1874, April, I wrote my treatise on *Algebra identified with Geometry*, and in June, my treatise on the *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, and that in 1875, June, I published the first edition of my translation of Helmholtz on the *Sensations of Tone*; in 1876 my tract on the *English, Dionysian and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek*, and in 1881 two papers on the *Computation of Logarithms* for the Royal Society (Proceedings, vol. 31, pp. 381-413; in 1880, Mar., my laborious *History of Musical Pitch* for the Society of Arts; in 1885, April, my account of the *Musical Scales of Various Nations*, also for the Society of Arts, and in July the second edition of my translation of Helmholtz, all works requiring much preparation and often lengthy investigations, and hence greatly interfering with other work. I had also five Presidential Addresses to prepare for the Ph. S. and deliver in 1872, 1873, 1874, 1881, and 1882, each of them occupying much time, and three of them involving considerable correspondence.

FOUR DIALECT WORDS.

CLEM, LAKE, NESH, AND OSS.



FOUR DIALECT WORDS.

CLEM, LAKE, NESH, AND OSS,

THEIR MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE, MEANINGS,

PRONUNCIATION, ETYMOLOGY,

AND

EARLY OR LITERARY USE.

BY THOMAS HALLAM.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY

BY TRÜBNER & CO.

1885.



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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 16, delete line 6—"As we shall see, both are derived from the Anglo-Saxon."
- „ 20, line 29—(Division) "I" should be "II."
- „ 31, line 6 from bottom—*Senyn* should be *Seuyn*.

SUMMARY OF DETAILS.

	CLEM.	LAKE.	NESH.	OSS.
I. DIALECTAL RANGE :—				
i. From Printed Books :—				
No. of Glossaries	47	35	50	39
„ Counties—				
In England	17	7	20	13
„ Wales	1		1	1
„ Ireland	2			
Also—	N. of England	N. of England Scotland	N. & W. of England	N. of England
ii. From my own Researches :*				
No. of Counties	14	2	15	8
„ Places	46	7	45	21
II. EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE :—				
Period	1362 to 1649	12 th cent. to 1570	C. 1200 to 1649	1325 to C. 1400
No. of Books or Works....	7	32	35	2

* I may here explain that in recording the "Phonology of English Dialects," what is primarily required is the dialectal pronunciation of *literary* or *received English* words, in order that the varied forms of pronunciation may be compared for all English counties; this will be done in Mr. Ellis's great work on the subject now in preparation, which will form Part V. of his *Early English Pronunciation*. Hence, purely dialectal words, as *clm*, *nesh*, *oss*, &c., are not available for this general comparison, their area of usage being only *parts* of the country respectively: consequently, these have not received the same degree of attention as representative received English words, such as *father*, *mother*, *day*, *green*, *house*, *home*, *night*, *noon*, &c. Had special inquiries been made during my dialectal tours, the number of places at which these words are respectively current might have been much extended.

P R E F A C E .

§ 1. The title page indicates with almost sufficient completeness the purport and scope of this contribution to the English Dialect Society's publications. Selecting four characteristic and expressive words which are still current in our Dialects, but have long been lost to the standard language, I have endeavoured to ascertain the range of each, so far as that is discoverable from published glossaries and my own personal researches for a number of years. I have given the meaning and shades of meaning of the words as they are employed in the several localities, together with the variations in the pronunciation; the last-named being the result of actual personal hearing of the every-day use of the words by natives, noted down during my somewhat extensive phonological travels in about *twenty-five* English counties, and Denbighshire and Flintshire (detached), in Wales.

§ 2. To complete the examination, I have added examples of the use of the four words by Early and Middle English writers, as well as illustrative colloquial sentences or specimens from the glossarists; and I have ventured, with the assistance of eminent philologists (see § 6), to give the etymology of each word.

§ 3. Apart from the pronunciations which I have been able to record, the differences in which are suggestive and valuable, it will be observed that I have brought into one view information which was previously scattered over a wide area. The labour involved in such a collation has necessarily been considerable, and the result, I trust, will be of some appreciable service to students of the history of our language.

§ 4. With respect to Early and Middle English quotations, it was thought advisable in the case of CLEM, LAKE, and NESH to give a considerable number, in order fully to exemplify what we may term their "literary life."

§ 5. The dialectal range, as indicated both from the printed glossaries, and the writer's researches, shows the necessity that local glossaries should be inclusive.

§ 6. The etymological section on each word has been submitted to Professor Skeat, of Cambridge, who has most kindly and carefully checked the same, and corrected where necessary. I am also indebted to him for a special paragraph on the etymology of Oss; also, for three of the five Early English quotations for the same word.

I have also to acknowledge, with thanks, courteous communications from Dr. J. A. H. Murray and Professor Rhys, of Oxford, on the etymology of Oss.

The correspondence from the three scholars just named contained likewise several interesting and valuable suggestions. This help has been most courteously and readily granted in response to my inquiries.

My thanks are also hereby tendered to informants in various counties, for special communications on the meaning and use of the word or form LARK = a frolic, sport, &c., in the several localities. See pp. 35-37. These are all people with whom I had interviews previously, in the course of my dialectal travels, and who had willingly given me valuable information on their respective dialects.

THOMAS HALLAM.

Manchester, August, 1887.

Four Dialect Words.

C L E M .

The modern use of this word, with its variant *Clam*, is dialectal, and has a wide range. It was in literary use in Early and Middle English. I propose to treat the word as follows :—

A.—First, and chiefly, MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE, LOCALITIES, ORTHOGRAPHY, and SENSES OR ACCEPTATIONS.

I. From Glossaries.

- i. Table of Localities and Authors.
- ii. Quotations, or illustrative sentences.

II. From my own researches.

- i. Table of Localities.
- ii. Illustrative sentences.

III. Correspondence from the *Manchester City News*.

B.—Secondly, ETYMOLOGY and LITERARY USAGE IN EARLY AND MIDDLE ENGLISH.

I. Etymology.

II. Quotations from Early and Middle English.

APPENDIX : The word *starve*.

A.—MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE.

I. FROM GLOSSARIES OR PRINTED BOOKS.

i. A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES

in which the word is found. In the first column they are numbered consecutively; the second contains the localities; the third the authors' names and dates; and the fourth the orthography and reference to the two meanings or acceptations, viz.:

1 = To starve for want of food, or from having insufficient food; and,

2 = To be parched with thirst.

In giving the places or districts, I proceed in series from north to south.

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES.

No.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR AND DATE.	ORTHOGRAPHY AND ACCEPTATION.
1	North Country.....	John Ray, 1674	clem'd, clam'd ..1, 2
2	North of England ..	Rev. J. Hutton, 1781 ..	clam.....2
3	North	F. Grose, 1790.....	clamm'd, clemm'd..1
4	North Country.....	J. T. Brockett, 1825 ..	clam.....1, 2
	Yorkshire:—		
5	Cleveland	Rev. J. C. Atkinson, 1868	clam, clem
6	Whitby District ..	F. K. Robinson, 1875..	clemm'd
7	Mid-Yorkshire....	C. C. Robinson, 1876..	clam: very occasional 1; usually
8	Holderness	Ross, Stead, & Holder- ness, 1877.	clammed
9	West Riding	Robert Willan, 1811 ..	clam.....1, 2
10	Craven	Rev. W. Carr, 1824....	do.1
10A	Bradford	B. Preston, Poems, 1872	tlammin
11	Leeds District	Thoresby to Ray, 1703.	clem'd, clam'd1
12	Leeds.....	C. C. Robinson, 1862..	clamm'd
13	Wakefield	W. Stott Banks, 1865..	do.1
14	Almondbury and Huddersfield.	Rev. A. Easter & Rev. T. Lees, 1883.	clam, clem
15	Hallamshire (Shef- field District)	Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1829.	clam.....1
16	Cumberland	A. C. Gibson, 1869....	clemm'd
17	Ditto	R. Ferguson, 1873	clam.....1
18	Cumberland & West- morland	Poems, Songs, and Bal- lads, 1839.	do.1
	Lancashire:—		
19	Lonsdale	R. B. Peacock, in <i>Phil.</i> <i>Soc. Trans.</i> , 1867.	clam.....1, 2
20	Furness.....	J. P. Morris, 1869	clem.....1
21	South.....	J. Collier, 6 ed., 1757 ..	clemm'd
22	South.....	J. H. Nodal and G. Milner, Part I., 1875.	clem.....1
	E., Mid., & N.....	Ditto	clam.....1
23	Cheshire	R. Wilbraham, 2 ed., 1826; orig. in <i>Archæo-</i> <i>logia</i> , Vol. XIX.	clem.....1
24	Ditto	Col. Egerton Leigh, 1877	clam or clem
25	Ditto	Robt. Holland, 1884 ..	clem, clam
26	Derbyshire (Bakewell District)	J. Sleigh, in <i>Reliquary</i> for January, 1865.	clam or clem
27	Shropshire	Miss Jackson, 1879....	clem; clam on the Hereford border..1
28	Ditto	T. Wright, 1880	clem.....1
29	Staffordshire	R. Nares, 1822.....	clamm'd
30	Ditto	C. H. Poole, 1880	clam or clem
31	Leicestershire	A. B. Evans, D.D., and his son S. Evans, LL.D., 1881.	clamm, clam, clem..1
32	Lincolnshire.....	J. E. Brogden, 1866 ..	clam.....2
33	Ditto (Manley & Corringham)	Edward Peacock, 1877.	clammed.....2

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(continued).

No.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR AND DATE.	ORTHOGRAPHY AND ACCEPTATION.
34	Northamptonshire ..	Clare, Poems on Rural Life and Scenery, <i>cir.</i> 1818.	clamm'd [birds] 1
35	Ditto ..	T. Sternberg, 1851	clam'd 1
36	Ditto ..	Miss Baker, 1854.....	clamm'd: applied to cattle which do not thrive for want of better pasture; but it more frequently denotes parched with thirst.
37	Warwickshire	W. Holloway, 1839....	clam 1
38	Herefordshire	G. Cornwall Lewis, 1839	do. 1
39	Worcestershire, West	Mrs. Chamberlain, 1882	clem 1
40	Ditto Upton-on-Severn.	Rev. Canon Lawson, 1884.	clam 1
41	East Anglia (Norfolk and Suffolk)	Rev. R. Forby, 1830 ..	clam 1
42	Suffolk	Edward Moor, 1823 ..	clamm'd 1
43	East	T. Wright, 1880	clam 1
44	Ditto	J. O. Halliwell, ed. 1874.	clam, clem 1
45	Cornwall, West	Miss M. A. Courtney, 1880.	clem 2
46	Wales (Radnorshire).	Rev. W. E. T. Morgan, 1881.	do. 1
47	Ireland (Antrim and Down)	W. H. Patterson, 1880.	clemmed to death= perished with wet and cold.

NOTE.—Five works in the foregoing list are General Dictionaries of Archaic or of Provincial English, or both, viz.:—

3. F. Grose's Provincial Glossary.

28. (43.) T. Wright's Dict. of Obsolete and Provincial English.

29. Archdeacon Nares's Glossary . . . illustrating the works of English Authors, particularly Shakspeare and his contemporaries.

37. W. Holloway's General Dict. of Provincialisms.

44. J. O. Halliwell's Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words.

I may here observe that the variant *clam* has several homonyms, which have various dialectal meanings, and most of them, no doubt, are of different origin. Halliwell has *clam* with thirteen acceptations besides No. 1 before given; and T. Wright has *clam* with fourteen acceptations in addition to the two given above.

ii. QUOTATIONS, OR ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES

from a few of the foregoing glossaries, referred to by their respective numbers.

2. NORTH :

I am welly clemm'd, *i.e.*, almost starved.

4. YORKSHIRE, CLEVELAND :

Ah's fairlings *clammed* (or *clemmed*) for want o' meat.

10A. Ditto BRADFORD :

Ah wur tost like a drucken man's noddle all t' neet
Fur ah saw i' my dreeams sich a pityful seet
O haases as cowl an as empty as t' street,
We little things *tlammin* o' t' floor.

T' Lancashire Famine, p. 32.

13. Ditto WAKEFIELD :

Clamm'd to deeth.

22. LANCASHIRE, NORTH : 1866, Gibson (Dialect of High Furness), *Folk-Speech of Cumberland*, p. 86 :

Wes' niver, I's insuer us,
Be neeaht or *clemm'd* or cãld.

LANCASHIRE, SOUTH : 1790, Lees and Coupe, *Harland's Lancashire Ballads*, "Jone o' Grinfilt," p. 217 :

Booath *clemmin*, un starvin, un never a fardin,
It ud welly drive ony man mad.

1867, Edwin Waugh, *Factory Folk during the Cotton Famine*, c. x., p. 92 :

There's a brother o' mine lives wi' us; he'd a been
clemmed into th' grave but for th' relief.

1868, Ben Brierley, *Fratchingtons*, c. iii., p. 35 :

Theau fastened on me like a *clemmed* leech.

29. STAFFORDSHIRE :

I shall be *clamm'd* (for starved).

41. SUFFOLK :

I'm *clamm'd* ta dead amost.

[N.B.—This form prevails at Lincoln. See examples from my own researches, II. ii., below.]

43. EAST :

I would sooner *clam* than go to the workhouse.

II. DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES, 1873. TO 1885.

i. TABLE OF LOCALITIES

containing: In column 1, the consecutive numbers; in column 2, the county; in column 3, the town, village, township, &c.; in column 4, the orthography, pronunciation in glossic (within square brackets), and references to acceptations, as in the first table. In giving the places I proceed as before, in series from north to south.

No.	COUNTY.	TOWN, VILLAGE, ETC.	ORTHOGRAPHY AND ACCEPTATION.
1	Lancashire	Garstang1881	clammed [tlaamd]....I
2		Burnley.....1875	clam [tlaam']I
3		Farrington1877	clam or clem [tlaam', tlaem']I
4		Leyland..... do.	clammed [tlaamd]....I
5		West Houghton ..1876	clem [tlaem']I
6	Cheshire	Stalybridge do.	do. do.I
7		Hollingworth1873	do. do.I
8		Barrow.....1884	clemmed [tlaemd]....I
9		Middlewich1877	clem [tlaem']I
10		Farndon1882	clemmed [klaemd] ..I
11	Derbyshire	Dore1883	clam [tlaam']I
12		Chesterfield do.	do. and clammed [tlaam', tlaamd] ..I
13		Wingerworth (Stone Edge)1883	do. [tlaam']I
14		Monyash1878	clem [tlaem']I
15		Ashford1875	clam [tlaam']I
16		Marston Montgomery, 1878	clem [tlaem']I
17		South Normanton..1883	clam [tlaam']I
18		Alfreton..... do.	do. do.I
19		Heanor..... do.	do. do.I
20		Sandiacre do.	do. do.I
21		Edgmond1885	clemmed [klaemd]....I
22		Corve Dale1882	clem [klaem']I
23	Staffordshire	Oakamoor.....1882	clem [tlaem']I
24		Stone1883	clemmed [tlaemd] ..I
25		Burton-on-Trent..1879	clem or clam [klaem', klaam']I
26		Lichfield1885	clem [?]I
27		Willenhall1879	clam [klaam']I
28		Bingham do.	do. clammed [tlaam', tlaamd]I
29	Lincolnshire	Lincoln.....1885	clammed [tlaamd]....I
30	Northamptonshire.	Irchester do.	do. do.2

TABLE OF LOCALITIES—(continued).

No.	COUNTY.	TOWN, VILLAGE, ETC.	ORTHOGRAPHY AND ACCEPTATION.
31	Warwickshire	Coventry ; not dated..	clam [ʔ klaam' or tlaam']1
32	Herefordshire	Near Leominster..1885	clammed [klaemd] ..1
33	Worcestershire ..	Bewdley1881	a-clammin' [u'klaam'-i'n]1
34	Huntingdonshire..	Great Stukeley.... do.	clammed [klaemd] ..2
35	Oxfordshire	Witney1884	clam [klaam']1
36	Wales: Flintshire	Hanmer (Arowry) 1882, (detached) twice.	clammed [tlaemd]1

ii. ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES

recorded at fifteen of the places named in the preceding table, with the pronunciation in glossic (within square brackets).

1. LANCASHIRE: GARSTANG.

Welly (nearly) clammed to deeüth mony a time=
[wael'i' tlaamd tu') d:ee'u'th mon'i' u') t:ah'im].

3. Ditto FARRINGTON.

Dusta (dost thou) think I'm going t' *clem* 'em?=
[Düs'tu' thingk au)m goo.i'n t) tlaam') u'm?]

4. Ditto LEYLAND.

I'm varry near *clammed* to deeüth=[Au)m) vaar'u'
neeu'r tlaamd tu') deeu'th].

6. Ditto STALYBRIDGE.

We shanna *clem* him=[Wi') shaan'u' tlaem') i'm].

9. CHESHIRE: MIDDLEWICH.

Yo dunna (don't) *clem* your bally for fine clooiis
(clothes)=[Yu') dùn-u' tlaem' yu'r) baal'i' fu'r)
f:ah'in tl:oo-u'z [tlùoo-u'z]].

11. DERBYSHIRE: DORE.

Clam it to deeüth=[tlaam') i't tu') d:ee-u'th].

12. Ditto CHESTERFIELD.

Clammed to deeüth=[tlaamd tu') d:ee-u'th].

14. DERBYSHIRE: MONYASH.

Tha'll *clem* me t' deeth=[Dhaa..)l tlaem') mi' t)
deeth].

21. SALOP: EDGMOND.

I amna (am not) *clemmed*=[Au) aam') nu' klaemd].

24. STAFFS.: STONE.

Clemmed to death=[tlaemd tu') daeth].

29. LINCOLN: LINCOLN.

Clammed to deeth=[tlaamd tu') d:ee'u'd].

30. NORTH HANTS: IRCHESTER.

I'm nearly *clammed*=[au)m) n:ee-u'rli' tlaamd].

32. HEREF.: Near LEOMINSTER.

Most (nearly) *clemmed* to death=[M:oa'st klaemd
tu') daeth].

33. WORCES.: BEWDLEY.—Referring to a lady who was not charitably inclined, my informant, Mrs. Mary Ashcroft, about ninety-five years of age, observed:

Afore her'd give it [say food] to them as bin a-
clammin'=[u'f:oa'u'r uur')d gyiv') i't tu') dhaem-
u'z) bin' u'klaam'i'n].

36. WALES—FLINT: HANMER.

Clemmed to jeth (death)=[tlaemd tu') jaeth].

Being a native of the Peak of Derbyshire, I know that the form *clem* [tlaem'] prevails there, signifying "to starve." I also know from long personal experience that the same form, pronunciation, and meaning are current in East Cheshire and South Lancashire, including Manchester.

The phrases "*clemmed* [or *clammed*] to death," and "*nearly* [or *welly*] *clemmed* [or *clammed*] to death," in their varied dialectal pronunciations, are used figuratively in most of the localities named, as equivalent to "very hungry;" as, for instance, when persons may have been obliged to continue at work, from urgent causes, for a longer time than usual, before partaking of food.

III. CORRESPONDENCE IN THE *MANCHESTER CITY NEWS*.

In January, 1878, there was some correspondence in this paper on "The Dialectal Range of the Words *Lake* and *Clem*." I now give the small portion relating to *clem* :—

. . . . The word *clem* is said to be indigenous to Lancashire, and such may be the case. However, it is a word well-known amongst the poor nailmakers of South Staffordshire, and Halesowen in Worcestershire. I first became acquainted with the word in the Midland counties, and when I came to reside in Lancashire I recognized it as an old acquaintance. Ask a Sedgeley or Halesowen nailmaker how he is getting on, and the reply will in all probability be, "We'm clemming," that is, "we are starving." And in truth these poor nailmakers are being gradually starved out through the bulk of the nails being now made by machinery.

H. KERR.

Stacksteads, Rossendale [Lancashire].

. . . . The word *clem* about Preston and neighbourhood was always pronounced *clam*. I never heard *clem* except in South-east Lancashire. In the glossary [then] recently edited by Messrs. Nodal and Milner, several quotations from old writers are given in which the word is used, and consequently its range both was and is much wider than the county palatine. One of these, from Massinger, spells the word *clam*, and another from Ben Jonson *clem*.

CHARLES HARDWICK.

Manchester.

The article written by myself on *Clem*, was inserted March 30th, 1878, occupying not more than one-fourth the space of the present article, which includes the original information very considerably extended, and in addition, the results of my own dialectal researches.

B.—ETYMOLOGY, AND EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE.

I. ETYMOLOGY.

The word *clem* is of Teutonic origin. The primary senses of words which are cognate in several Teutonic languages are, "to press, squeeze, pinch," etc.; and from these has been developed the metaphorical meaning, "to be pinched with hunger," or, "to starve."

i. I give cognate words from dictionaries in the following languages :

1. GERMAN :

- a. Klemmen, v. a.* and refl., to pinch, cramp, squeeze ; to jam.
Flügel, Lond. 1841.
- b. Klemmen, v. a.* to pinch, squeeze hard and closely, to press.
Beklemmen, v. a. to press, to pinch, to oppress.
Published by Cassell, London.

2. DUTCH :

- a. Klemmen, to pinch, clinch.*
S. H. Wilcocke, Lond. 1798.
- b. Klemmen, v. a.* and *n.*, to pinch, clinch, oppress.
Klemmen, v. n. to be benumbed with cold.
Published by Otto Holtz, Leipsic, 1878.

3. ANGLO-SAXON :

Dr. Bosworth has no corresponding verb. He has the two following nouns, which have the kindred senses of *binding, holding, or restraint*.

1. *Clam*. 3. A bandage ; what holds or retains, as a net, fold, prison.
2. *Clom* [Frisian, *Klem*]. A band, bond, clasp, bandage, chain, prison.

4. ICELANDIC :

Klembra [Germ[an], *Klemmen*], to jam or pinch in a smith's vice.

Klömbr [*sb*] [akin to a well-known root-word common to all Teut[onic] languages ; cp. Germ. *Klam*, *Klemmen*], a smith's vice.

Cleasby and Vigfusson, Oxford, 1874.

[N.B.—The root-word referred to is probably "Krampe." See Prof. Skeat's Etymol. Eng. Dict., *s.v. clamp*.]

5. DANISH :

Klemme, v.t. to pinch, squeeze, jam.
Ferrall and Repps, Kjobenhavn, 1861.

6. SWEDISH :

Klämma [*sb*], *f. press.* sitta i klämma—to be in great straits.

Klämma, v. a. to squeeze, to oppress, to pinch, to wring.
Tauchnitz edit., Leipsic, 1883.

ii. From Dr. Stratmann's Dict. of Old English, and three Glossaries:

1. Dr. STRATMANN:

Clemmen, O.L.Germ. (ant.-bi-)klemmian, O.H.Germ. (bi-)chlemmen, from clam=clem, artare. Comp. for-clemmed (part.), Early Eng. Allit. Poems, 3, 395.

2. R. B. PEACOCK'S Lonsdale (N. Lanc.) Glossary, 1867:

Clam, v.i. to starve for want of food, to be very thirsty; Dan. *klemme*, to pinch; O.N. *Klemma*, to contract; Goth. *Klammen*, to pinch.

3. Rev. J. C. ATKINSON'S Cleveland Gloss., 1868:

Clam, v. a. (1) To pinch, compress, force together. (2) To castrate by aid of compression. (3) v. n. and p. To suffer from the pinching effects of hunger, to starve. O.N. [orse], *Klemma*, co-artare; S[uio]-G[othic], *Klaemma*, primere, stringere; Sw. Dial. *Klämma*; Dan. *Klemme*; Mid. Germ. *Klimmen*. Rietz observes that "in all probability there must have once been extant in O. English a strong vb. *climan*, *clam*, *clemmen*, or *clummen*." Possibly our existing vb., generally current in one or more of its senses throughout the North, is the only vb. ever in use, no instance of its occurrence being quoted as a South English word; although the A.S. sb. *clam*, *clom*, bondage or bonds, constraint, exists.

Clem, v. n. and p. To suffer from the effects of hunger. Another form of *clam* (which see).

4. NODAL and MILNER'S Lancashire Glossary, Pt. I., 1875:

Clem (S. Lanc.); *clam* (E., Mid., and N. Lanc.): v. to starve from want of food. Du. *Klemmen*, to pinch; O.L. Ger. (bi-) *Klemman*; O.H. Ger. (bi-) *chlemmen*, to clam; Du. *Kleumen*, to be benumbed with cold.

N.B.—It is necessary particularly to note the etymological difference between *clam* the synonym of *clem*, "to be pinched with hunger," and *clam*, "to stick or adhere to;" the latter is derived from the Anglo-Sax. *clam*, "a bandage, chain."—BOSWORTH.* ATKINSON, in his *Cleveland Glossary*, clearly distinguishes the two words. See also SKEAT'S *Etymol. Dict.* vv. *Clam*, *Clamp*, *Clump*, *Cram*, and *Cramp*.

II. QUOTATIONS FROM THE 14TH TO THE 17TH CENTURY.

1362. *Piers Ploughman*, p. 276:

Et this whan the hungreth
Or whan thow clomsest for-cold
Or clyngest for-drye.

So quoted by T. Wright, edit. 1856.

Gloss. No. 4, Rev. J. Atkinson has the variants,
thou; *for cold*; and *for drie*.

*Bosworth confuses *clam* or *clamm*, a bandage, chain, with *clám*, mud, clay. They are quite distinct.—W. W. S.

1360. *Early English Allit. Poems*, c. i., 392 :

Ne best bite on no brom, ne no bent nauper,
 Passe to pasture, ne pike non erbes,
 Ne non ox to no hay, ne no horse to water;
 Al schal crye for-*clemmed*.

Quoted by Gloss. No. 22, Nodal and Milner.

Dr. Stratmann gives *forclemmed* (part.), from the same, 3, 395.

1598. BEN JONSON, *Every Man out of his Humour*, iii. 6 :

Hard is the choise when the valiant must eate their armes,
 or *clem*. Edit. Lond. 1640.

The quotations in the following Glossaries must have been made from other editions, as there are *various readings* in each.

(1) NARES, 1822 :

Hard is the choice, when the valient must eat their arms-
 or *clem*.

(2) TOONE, 1832—as Nares—except the insertion of *either* after *must*.

(3) NODAL and MILNER, 1875 :

Hard is the choice
 When valient men must eat their arms or *clem*.

1602. BEN JONSON, *Poetaster*, i. 2 :

I cannot eat stones and turfs, say. What,
 will he *clem* me, and my followers? Aske
 him, an' he will *clem* me : doe, goe. Edit. Lond. 1640.

I cannot eat stones and turfs, say, What,
 will he *clem* me and my followers? Ask him
 an he will *clem* me; do, go. Quoted by Nares.

What ! will he *clem* me and my followers?
 Quoted by Toone.

1602. JOHN MARSTON, *Antonio and Mellida*, Part II., iii. 3 :

Now barks the wolfe against the fulle cheekt moon;
 Now Lyons half-*clamd* entrals roare for food.
 Now croakes the toad, and night crows screech aloud,
 Fluttering 'bout casements of departed soules;
 Now gapes the graves, and through their yawnes let loose
 Imprison'd spirits to revisit earth.

Ed. J. O. Halliwell, 1856.

1620. PHILIP MASSENGER, *Roman Actor*, ii. 2 :

- (1) —And yet I
Sollicitous to increase it, when my intrails
Were *clamm'd* with keeping a perpetual fast, &c.
Quoted by Nares, 1822.
- (2) BROCKETT, 1825, quotes from the word “when;”
but has “entrails” instead of “intrails.”
- (3) NODAL and MILNER, 1875, quote from the word
“my.”
- (4) In the edition of MASSINGER by Gifford, 1845,
the passage stands:

And yet I
Sollicitous to increase it, when my entrails
Were *clemm'd* with keeping a perpetual fast.

(Ante)

1649. BP. PERCY's *Folio MS.*, i. p. 225 (*Scotish Feilde*):

there company was *clemmed*: & much cold did suffer;
water was a worthy drinke: win it who might.
Quoted by Atkinson, Gloss. No. 4.

APPENDIX.

THE WORD *STARVE*.

This word is used in both literary and dialectal senses.

I. I. The following LITERARY SENSES are given by most modern English dictionaries:

a. Intransitive.—

To die or perish (1) of or with *hunger*; and
(2) of or with *cold*.

b. Transitive.—

To kill (1) by or with *hunger*; and
(2) by or with *cold*.

Webster states that in the United States both the *intrans.* and *trans.* verbs are applied to death consequent on *hunger* only, and not in consequence of *cold*.

2. *a.* The DIALECTAL SENSE in which the word is generally used is—

To suffer more or less from *cold*, but only temporarily, not fatally.

- b.* This dialectal sense of “to starve” is the correl. to that of the verb “to clem,” viz.—

(1) To *starve*, as resulting from *cold*; and

(2) To *clem*, as resulting from *hunger*.

- c.* It should be particularly noted that this usage of *starve* most probably prevails at all places where *clem* or *clam* signifies “to be pinched with hunger.” This is the case in the Peak of Derbyshire, and in several counties, as ascertained during my dialectal researches. At various places where my informants gave me the word *clem* or *clam* as belonging to the respective dialects, they then immediately and voluntarily added that *starve* had the correl. sense above given.

- d.* In the case of death resulting from cold, as in a snowstorm or keen frost, the phrase “starved to death” would be used. Indeed, this phrase is often used metaphorically, when the “starving” is only temporary.

II. From SIXTEEN GLOSSARIES I now give the senses in which *starve* and its derivatives are used.

1. VARIOUS DIALECTS: J. O. Halliwell, ed. 1874.

Starved, excessively cold.

2. Ditto T. Wright, 1880.

Starved, *adj.* very cold.

3. YORKSHIRE, CLEVELAND: Rev. J. Atkinson, 1868.

Starvations, *adj.* cold, chilling, inclement, fit to starve one with cold.

Starve, *v. a.* to cause to suffer from extreme cold; of frequent use in the passive, as well as in the participle present.

4. Ditto WHITBY DISTRICT: F. K. Robinson, 1875.

Starvations, *adj.* bleak, barren.

Starving, *adj.* keenly cold: “*starving* weather.”

Black-starved, *adj.* blue with cold, like the nose and fingers in winter.

5. YORKSHIRE, MID: C. C. Robinson, 1876.
Starvations, *adj.* chilly.
6. Ditto WAKEFIELD: W. S. Banks, 1865.
Starv'd, cold. "Ahm ommost starv'd stiff;" also, pined.
7. LANCASHIRE, LONSDALE: R. B. Peacock, 1867.
Starved, *adj.* excessively cold.
8. CHESHIRE: Col. Egerton Leigh, 1877.
Starved, *adj.* used as a synonym for cold.
9. Ditto Robert Holland, 1885.
Starved, *part.* perished with cold; but *not* used in Cheshire for perished with hunger. Land is also said to be *starved* when it is cold for want of drainage.
10. DERBYSHIRE, BAKEWELL DISTRICT: J. Sleigh, 1865.
Starve, to clem or famish.
11. SHROPSHIRE: Miss Jackson, 1879.
Clem [klem'], *v. a.* to pinch with hunger; to famish. Common. *Starve* is never used in this sense; it is applied to cold only.
12. STAFFORDSHIRE: C. H. Poole, 1880.
Starve, to be deprived of warmth. To avoid ambiguity, so as not to confuse the meaning of this word, the old writers used the term—"hunger starved."
"We have been very much affected with the cries and wants of the poor this hard season, especially those about the town, who are ready to *starve* for want of coal."
Sir E. Turner, temp. Charles II.
13. LEICESTERSHIRE: A. B. Evans, D.D., and his son, 1881.
Starve, *v. n.* to be chilled through; perished with cold: never used for perishing of hunger.
14. LINCOLNSHIRE, MANLEY and CORRINGHAM: Edward Peacock, 1877.
Starve, *v.* to chill. "It was so cowl I was omust *starved* to dead."
15. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE: T. Sternberg, 1851.
Starved, cold. "I be so *starved*." "It's a *starvin* wind."

16. WORCESTERSHIRE, WEST: Mrs. Chamberlain, 1882.

Starve, *v.* to be cold.

Starven, *adj.* pinched with cold. "Alice is such a nesh little thing! W'en 'er's plaayin' with th' others in an evenin', 'er'll run into the 'ouse, an' 'er'll say, 'Oh, mammy, do püt I on a jacket, I be so *starven*!'"

III. ETYMOLOGY.—Starve is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *steorfan*, to starve, die, perish; Du. *sterven*, *v. n.* to die; Ger. *sterben*, *v. n.* to die; to die away; to cease, perish, become extinct. Cf. Icel. *starf*, a trouble, labour; and *starfa*, to work, labour.

In conclusion, I have the pleasure to cite Prof. Skeat's article on this word from his Etymological English Dictionary.

STARVE, to die of hunger or cold, to kill with hunger or cold. Orig[inally] intransitive, and used in the *general* sense of "to die," without reference to the means. M[iddle] E[nglish] *steruen* (with *u=v*), strong verb; pt. t. *starf*, Chaucer, C[ant.] T[ales], 935, pp. *storuen*, or *i-storuen*, id. 2016.—[=directly derived from] A.S. *steorfan*, to die, pt. t. *stearf*, pp. *storfen*; "*stearf* of hungor"—died of hunger, A[ng].-S[ax]. Chron. an. 1124, last line. Hence was formed the trans. verb *sterfan*, to kill, weak verb; appearing in *astærfed*, pp., Matt. xv. 13 (Rushworth gloss). The mod[ern] E. has confused the two forms, making them both weak. +[=not derived from, but cognate with] Du. *sterven*, pt. t. *stierf*, *storf*, pp. *gestorven*. +[not derived from, but cognate with] G[erm]. *sterben*, pt. t. *starb*, pp. *gestorben*. All from Teut[onic] base STARB, according to Fick, iii. 347; he also cites Icel. *starf*, labour, toil, *starfa*, to toil, as belonging to the same root.

LAKE = TO PLAY.

The modern use of this word, with its commonest variant LAIK, and scarce variants LAIKE and LEAK, is dialectal. In Early and Middle English it stood side by side with the word *play* as a literary word, and was used quite as extensively. As we shall see, both are derived from the Anglo-Saxon. But, while "to play" and its derivatives have kept their stand as literary English to the present day, "to lake" and its derivatives have long since become dialectal, and confined chiefly to the northern counties. The dialectal range of *lake* is much less than that of *clem*.

A.—MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE.

I. FROM GLOSSARIES OR PRINTED BOOKS.

i. A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES
in which the verb TO LAKE and its derivatives are found.

NO.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR AND DATE.	WORDS AND PARTS OF SPEECH.
1	North Country ..	John Ray, 1674	lake, <i>v.</i>
2	Ditto ..	N. Bailey, 1749	do. <i>v.</i>
3	Ditto ..	J. T. Brockett, 1825 ..	do. <i>v.</i> ; laking, <i>sb.</i>
4	North of England.	Rev. J. Hutton, 1781 ..	do. <i>v.</i>
5	North.....	Grose and Pegge, 1839.	leak, <i>v.</i>
	Not stated.....	Ditto	lake, <i>v.</i>
6	North.....	W. Holloway, 1839....	do. <i>v.</i>
7	Ditto.....	J. O. Halliwell, ed. 1874.	do. <i>v.</i> ; lake, laker, lakin, <i>sbb.</i>
8	Ditto.....	T. Wright, 1880	do. <i>sb.</i>
	Not stated.....	Ditto	laik, lake, <i>vv.</i>
9	Cumberland.....	Rev. Josiah Relph. Poems and Glossary, 1798.	lake, <i>v.</i>
10	Ditto	Jollie's Manners and Customs, 1811.	laiker, <i>sb.</i>
11	Ditto	A. C. Gibson, 1869....	laik, laikins, <i>sbb.</i>
12	Ditto	R. Ferguson, 1873	laik, <i>v.</i>
13	Central and S.W.	W. Dickinson, 1878 ..	lake, <i>sb.</i>
	Central	Ditto ..	lakin, <i>sb.</i>
	North	Ditto ..	leayk, <i>sb.</i>
14	Cumberland and Westmorland.	Poems, Songs, and Bal- lads, 1839.	laik or lake, <i>v.</i> ; laiker, <i>sb.</i>
15	Westmorland	Rev. Wm. Hutton (Wm. de Worfat), "A Bran New Wark," 1785.	laaking, <i>part.</i>
16	Durham (Teesdale)	[Dinsdale], 1839	lake, <i>v.</i> ; lakes, lakin, babby-lakin, <i>sbb.</i>

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(continued).

No.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR AND DATE.	WORDS AND PARTS OF SPEECH.
17	Yorkshire:— Cleveland	Rev. J. C. Atkinson, 1868	lake, laik, <i>v.</i> ; laker, laking-brass, lakins, laikins, <i>sbb.</i>
18	Whitby District.	F. K. Robinson, 1875..	lake, <i>v.</i> ; lake or lairk, lakes, lakers, lakin, lakin-house, laking-brass, lakin-kist, <i>sbb.</i> ; lakesome or lakish, <i>adj.</i> ; laked, lakin, <i>partt.</i>
19	Swaledale	Capt. J. Harland, 1873.	lake, <i>v.</i> ; laking, babbly-laking, <i>sbb.</i>
20	Mid-Yorkshire..	C. C. Robinson, 1876..	laik, <i>v.</i> ; laikins, laikin-brass, <i>sbb.</i>
21	West Riding	Dr. Willan, 1811.....	lake, <i>v.</i> ; laking, <i>sb.</i>
22	Craven	Rev. W. Carr, 1824 ..	do. <i>v.</i> ; lacons, lakins, <i>sbb.</i>
23	East Yorkshire..	W. H. Marshall, 1788..	laik, <i>v.</i>
24	Holderness	Ross, Stead, and Holderness, 1877.	lake, <i>v.</i>
25	Leeds District ..	Thoresby to Ray, 1703.	do. <i>v.</i>
26	Leeds.....	C. C. Robinson, 1862..	laik, <i>v.</i> ; lakins, <i>sb.</i>
27	Halifax	Append. II. to Hunter's Hallamshire Glossary, 1829.	lake, <i>v.</i>
28	Almondbury and Huddersfield.	Rev. A. Easther and Rev. T. Lees, 1883.	do. <i>v.</i> ; lake, laikins, <i>sbb.</i>
29	Hallamshire (Sheffield Dis.)	Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1829.	do. <i>v.</i> ; lakin, <i>sb.</i>
30	Lancashire:— Lonsdale	R. B. Peacock, in <i>Phil. Soc. Trans.</i> , 1867.	laik, lake, <i>v.</i> ; lake, laker, laking, <i>sbb.</i>
31	Furness.....	J. P. Morris, 1869	laik, <i>sb.</i> ; lakin', <i>part.</i>
32	Ditto	Nodal and Milner, Part II., 1882.	lake, <i>v.</i>
33	Lincolnshire.....	J. E. Brogden, 1866 ..	laking-about.
34	Gloucestershire (Cotswold)	Rev. R. W. Huntley ..	laiking, <i>part.</i>
35	Scotland	Dr. Jamieson, ed. 1879-82.	laik, laiike, <i>sb.</i>

ii. DEFINITIONS OR SENSES.

A considerable variety of words, phrases, and sentences is used in these definitions. The numbers appended to these refer to the glossaries in the foregoing table in which each such word, phrase, and sentence is found,

a. VERB.

- Lake*: To play—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32.
 To sport—17. To perform—18.
 To engage in a game—24.
 To trifle or act with levity—24. To be idle—28.
 When men are out of work they are said "to lake"—28.
- Laik*: To play—12, 14, 20, 26, 30.
 To amuse oneself—12.
 To play, as children; or at cards, or other game—23.
- Laike*: To play—8.
- Leake*: To play like children—5.

b. SUBSTANTIVES.

- Lacons*: Playthings, toys—22.
- Lake*: A Play—7, 30. A player, or actor—8.
 Play—13. A game—18, 20, 30.
- Laker*: A player or actor—7.
 A player, or rather one who plays—17.
 One who plays—30.
- Lakers*: Players—18.
- Lakes*: Sports, games—16.
 Entertainments—18.
- Lakin*: A plaything—7, 8, 29.
 A toy—7, 8, 18. A child's toy—13.
 A child's plaything—16.
- Lakins*: Things to be played with, toys at large—17.
 Trifles—18. Playthings—22, 26, 28.
 Toys—22, 28. Games—28.
- Laking*: A plaything—3, 9, 21.
- Lakin-house*: A gaming house; the children's playroom; a theatre—18.
- Lakin-kist*: A box of toys—18.
- Babby-lakin*: A child's plaything—16.
- Laking-brass*: Money given to a child to spend on its own amusement; in toys, &c., as it may be—17.
 The stakes on the gaming-table termed "the bank";
 pocket money for enjoyment—18.
- Babby-laking*: A plaything—19.
- Laik*: (1) A play—11, 31.
 (2) A term used by boys to denote their stake at play—35.
 (3) Used metaphorically to denote the strife of battle—35.
- Laike*: See *laik* (2), (3).
- Laiker*: A person engaged in sport—10, 14.

Laikins: Playthings—11, 20. Toys—11. Things to be played with, toys at large—17.

Laikin-brass: Pocket money—20.

Lairk: A game—18.

Leayk: Play—13.

c. ADJECTIVE.

Lakesome or *lakish*: Frolicsome—18.

d. PARTICIPLES.

Laked: Played or performed—18.

Lakin: Playing or sporting in all senses—18.

Lakin': Playing [infin. "to play" is wrong]—31.

Laking: When a mill has stopped running temporarily, the hands are said to be "laking."—26.

A toy—30.

Laking-about: Idling, wasting time—33.

Laaking: Amusing himself—15.

Laiking: Idling, playing truant: *Quasi*. lacking service, masterless—34.

iii. QUOTATIONS OR ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES.

from a few of the foregoing glossaries, referred to by their respective numbers.

11. CUMBERLAND:

But *laiks* at wate-not-whats within
O' Sunday efterneun.

Relph. *Afte '4 race*.

Here's babby-*laikins*—rowth o' spice,
On sto's an' stands extended.

Stagg. *Rosley Fair*.

15. WESTMORLAND:

But hah! wha is this that fancy marks, shooting
dawn the braw of *Stavely*, and *laaking* on the banks
of *Windermere*?

A Bran New Wark, ll. 49-51.

18. YORKSHIRE, WHITBY DISTRICT:

Lake, or *lairk*, *sb.* "He's full of his *lake*," his fun.
Lake, *v.* "That caard weant *lake* at that bat," that
game will not play at that rate, or that affair will
not succeed in the manner it is carried on.

Lakes, *sb.* "All maks o' *lakes*," all kinds of enter-
tainments.

Lakin, *part.* "I call it a *laking* do," a gambling
affair.

26. YORKSHIRE, LEEDS:

"Awāy wi' yuh out an' *lūk* a bit—goa a *lūaking*
i' Tommy's cloise till I fetch yuh."

"When we've *lūaked* wal te-a-time we'll come
home mother!"

28. Ditto ALMONDBURY and HUDDERSFIELD:

An ancient dame who lived at Sharp Lane end,
being of an economical turn of mind, was fond of
knitting, and said one evening at the conclusion
of her labours, "Au ha' burnt a hopenny cannle,
and addled a fardin—it's better nor *lakin*."

31. LANCASHIRE, FURNESS:

Mr. J. P. Morris cites the two quotations follow-
ing from *Cumberland Ballads*; of course thus im-
plying that the dialectal forms in these instances
are identical with those of Furness—

Nae mair he cracks the leave o'th' green.

The cleverest far abuin;

But *lakes* at wait-not-whats within,

Aw Sunday efter-nuin.

Relph. *Cumb. Ball.*, p. 7.

May luiky dreams *lake* round my head this night,
And show my true-luive to my longing sight.

Ewan Clark. *Cumb. Ball.*, p. 162.

33. Ditto FURNESS:

A lot of us lads wer' *lakin* down èt t' lā end o'
Brou'ton. J. P. Morris. *Seige o' Brou'ton*, p. 3.

I. DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES,
1876 TO 1879.

As only a small portion of the area in which "Lake=to
play" prevails, lies within the area investigated by myself,
the instances of its use which I have recorded are compara-
tively few.

1. LANCASHIRE, BURNLEY, August, 1876:

a. This word is indigenous or in regular use here—

(1) In the active sense of playing at games, and
ordinary children's play.

(2) In what may be termed the passive sense of
cessation from labour, (a) through the stop-
page of mills and other works, or (b) in other
cases.

- b. My principal informant was Mr. James Fielding, an intelligent mill operative [then] thirty years of age, and a native. He dictated to me the Burnley version of Mr. Ellis's "Comparative Specimen," and on the word in question gave me the following examples—

Question.—How lung arta (art thou) *lakin'* for? [a'ũũ lũng u'rt'u) lai'ki'n fiau'r?] *Reply*.—We're brokken down (at the mill) for all th' afternoon [wi')r brok'n d:a'ũũn fu'r) au'l th) aaft'u'rnouðũn].

Taw-lakin' [tau'-lai'ki'n] = playing at marbles.

N.B.—Taws [tau'z] = marbles.

- c. Mrs. Fielding said to some one—

[We'n] bin *lakin'* this week [wee)n bin lai'ki'n dhis w:ee'k']; the mill being stopped.

- d. Boy, playing with others at cricket, in reply to a question put by myself—

W'en we're *lakin'* at cricket [waen wi')r lai'ki'n u't) krik'i't].

- e. Mill operatives speaking of a man who was temporarily doing a job of work which was inferior to that of his own occupation, one of them observed—

He'd better do that than (or tin) *lakin'* [i')d baet''u'r d:oo' dhaat dhu'n [or ti'n) lai'ki'n].

2. LANCASHIRE, COLNE, December, 1879:

Heard *lakin'* = playing, spoken by three persons, and pronounced as follows—

- a. Youth—[lai'ki'n].
b. Man to another—[lai'ki'n].
c. Woman—[l:eyki'n].

3. YORKSHIRE, MARSDEN nr. HUDDERSFIELD, April, 1878:

- a. Boys playing at "pig and stick"—

Used *lake* [lai'k] = to play, several times; also, a *laker* [u') lai'ku'r] = a player, who was wanted to make up the number on one side.

- b. Eight or nine girls, say 15 to 17 years of age, playing at ball—

Used *lake* [lai'k] = to play.

III. CORRESPONDENCE IN THE MANCHESTER CITY NEWS

In January, February, and March, 1878, there was some correspondence in this paper on "The Dialectal Range of the Words *Lake* and *Clem*." I now give a selection from the portion relating to *lake*:—

- (1) Mr. Hardwick, in his note on Beggart Ho' Clough, remarks that he never remembers hearing the "Yorkshire word *lake* (to play) used in Lancashire, except at Clitheroe, on the Yorkshire border."

Yet the word has a much wider range in Lancashire than he supposes. "Lake" is in common use for play from Rochdale down Whitworth Valley, Rossendale Valley, and round by Haslingden and Ramsbottom. In Rossendale at the present time [Jan. 1878], "laking" is a word in too many mouths, owing to the cotton mills running short time. . . .

H. KERR.

Stacksteads, Rossendale [Lancashire].

- (2) Referring to the Yorkshire word "lake" (to play) in my previous communication, I merely observed that I had myself only heard it spoken indigenously in the neighbourhood of Clitheroe on the Yorkshire border; but of course I implied the probability of its location in places similarly situated. I never heard it in the neighbourhood of Manchester, except as a professed importation, and I have met with no one that ever did. . . .

CHARLES HARDWICK.

- (3) I was born in the ancient village of Clough-fold in Rossendale, and spent the first twenty years of my existence in its immediate neighbourhood, and during that period the words "lake" and "lakin" were in daily use, and in the mouths of the villagers were veritable "household words." J. C. T.

Heaton Chapel [Lancashire].

- (4) Many years ago, at a magistrates' meeting in Lincolnshire, a country fellow who had eloped with another's wife was charged with felony in reference to some articles which she took with her. The defence was that it was merely a "May-lek," or May game, which the people of that class indulged in at that season, and that in this case it had taken the form of a thoughtless jaunt to a neighbouring large town. The word is of Scandinavian origin. In Stockholm museum one of the paintings is described as "*Bönder som leka blindbock*" (peasants who play blindman's buff); and another, a boy, "*som leker med kort*" (who plays with cards). The svensk, like our English word, evidently only means mere sport, for where any game of skill is intended "*spela*" is used, as "*A gentleman and two ladies*," "*som spela kort*" (who play cards); "*Ossian and the young Alpin*," "*lyssna till Malvina's harpspel*" (listen to Malvina's harp play). There seems yet another distinction between the skill of mind indicated by the verb "*spela*," and of hand denoted by the noun "*slojd*" (pronounced nearly as "sloight"), and which seems to remain in use with us only in the term "sleight of hand." In Sweden it signifies any handicraft skill, and there are "*slojd*" schools for teaching such. The Danes have for nouns "*leg*" and "*spil*." We seem to preserve the "*spela*" and "*spil*" almost identically in our "*spell*" (to enumerate the letters of a word, a charm, to trace out, to take one's turn at work, &c.); and though our meanings have got more confined to particulars, the essence of the word—the mental skill—is common to both. The words "*lek*" and "*clam*"* I have heard in use in the wapentake of Corringham, Lincolnshire, of the provincialisms of which I observe the English Dialect Society has published a glossary. Is not to "*lark*" a variation of "*lek*" or "*lake*"?

H. J. P.

* *Clammed*, pp. parched with thirst. E. Peacock's *Lincolnsh. (Manley and Corringham)* Glossary.

(5) I hope it will not be forgotten, even by the prejudiced, that the old A.S. equivalent for "play" is not so dead a horse as is imagined. The word "lark"—not *alauda*—is common to all dialects, and it is only *lâc* with a slight burr. So all systematizers of the English language, from Latham onward, take care to make known. Much so-called slang is only good old English which has taken a Bohemian turn, and I confess to a weakness for your genuine Bohemian. . . . HITTITE.

(6) I have read with interest the various contributions of your correspondents anent this word, but have not seen mention by any of them of its use in the part of Yorkshire to which I belong. It is in general use, and has been during my recollection—over forty years—in the large district which lies between and adjacent to the towns of Halifax and Huddersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire; including the townships and villages of Sowerby Bridge, Elland, Greetland, Norland, Soyland, Barkisland, Stainland, Ripponden, Rishworth, and many others. The pronunciation of the word varies in the different localities, but all the places named above use it in one or the other of the forms as at the head; for instance, in Stainland "lake" is the form adopted, while in Barkisland, only a mile distant, "laik" is the version. The word is used to express either games of amusement or skill, or as a cessation from labour; thus they say, "ahr (our) lads are off laikin at football;" or, "yon lot are laikin at cairds" (card-playing); and in summer or drougthy weather, when the water in the brook runs low, and in consequence the mills stop working, the hands, when questioned as to their absence from work; reply, "we're laikin for water," *i.e.*, playing, or not working for want of water. OLD BEN.

(7) The expression "taw-laikin"—playing at marbles, which occurs in the comments on the above subject by your learned correspondent Mr. Hallam, brings to my recollection a reminiscence of my boyhood, which had all but escaped it. When playing at marbles each of us put one or more into the ring to be played for, and they were called our "lakers," the one we played with our "pitcher." This occurred north of the Grampians over fifty years ago, but I have never noticed the expression "lake" in this neighbourhood applied either to marbles or any other juvenile games. A. J.

The article by the writer was in two sections, which were respectively inserted March 2nd and 16th, 1878; but the space occupied was only equal to about four pages of the present article. In the area or dialectal range, the number of glossaries enumerated was twenty-four, but now thirty-five. In the section on the early usage of *lake* and *play*, references to early works and *forms only* of the two words were given; I have now added quotations from a number of Early and Middle English works, exemplifying the uses of these words. See B II.

B.—ETYMOLOGY, AND EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE.

I. ETYMOLOGY.

- i. The word *lake* or *laik* is derived from Icelandic. I therefore give the *verb* and *substantive*, with their meanings, from Vigfusson; and cognate words and definitions from other Teutonic languages.

I. ICELANDIC:

Leika, [vb.] pres. *leik*; pret. *lék*, *léku*; part. *leikinn*; [Ulf [ilas. *laikan* = *σκιεῖν*; A. S. *lācan*; mid. H. G. *leiche*; Dan *lege*; Swed. *leka*; North E. *to lake*]:—to play, sport.
2. to delude, play a trick on.

Leikr, [sb.] m., mod. dat. *leik*, acc. *leiki*; [Ulf [ilas], *laiks* = *χορός*, Luke xv. 25; A. S. *lāc*; North E. *laik*; O. H. G. *leik*; Dan. *leg*; Swed. *lek*]:—a game, play, sport, including athletics. 2. metaph. a game, sport.

Leikari, a, m. [North E [nglish] *laker*], a player, esp [ecially] a fiddler, jester.

Cleasby & Vigfusson, Oxford, 1874.

2. SWEDISH:

Leka, v. a. and n. To play, to sport, to toy.

Lek, sb. m. Sport, play, fun, game.

Tauchnitz, Edit., Leipsic, 1883.

3. DANISH:

Lege, v. i. & a. to play.

Leg, [sb], game, play; *jule-leg*, Christmas-game.

Ferrall & Reppe, Kjöbenhavn, 1861.

4. ANGLO-SAXON:

Lācan, [vb.]: (p. *lēlc*, *lēc*, we *lēcon*; pp. *lācen*), 1. To offer, present, sacrifice. 2. To celebrate religiously, to dance, play.

Lāc, *gelāc* [sb.]. 1. A gift, offering, sacrifice. 2. Play, sport. Dr. Bosworth's *Comp. Ang.-Sax. Dict.*; corrected by Ettmüller. Lond., 1852.

5. MÆSO-GOTHIC:

a. *Laikan*, vb. (pt. t. *lailaik*, pp. *laikans*), to skip or leap for joy, Lu. 1. 41, 44; 6. 23. [O.E. *laik*, to play.]

Laiks, str. sb. m. (pl. *laikos*), a sport, a dance, a dancing. Lu. 15. 25. [cf. E. 'a lark,' i.e. a sport, frolic.]

Rev. [now Prof.] W. W. Skeat, Lond. & Berlin, 1868.

- b. Dr. Lorenz Diefenbach, in his excellent *Gothic Glossary* (*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gothischen Sprache*), Franckfort-on-the-Main, 1851,—written in German—has the following, vol. ii, p. 124:—*Laikan*, [*vb.*], redpl. *lailaik*, *lailaikun*, *laikans*, springen,¹ hüpfen,² *oxiprā*.³ *Laiks*, [*sb.*] m. (pl. *laikos*), tanz, ⁴ χορός,⁵ Luc. 15. 25.

N.B.—He also gives the cognate forms in about *twenty* languages, ancient and modern.

- c. I give the passages referred to from the Gothic version by Wulfila or Ulfilas, A.D. 360:—
 Luke i. 41.—“Yah warþ, swe hausida Aileisabaþ golein Mariins, *lailaik* barn in qipau izos;”=“And it came to pass, that, when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe *leaped* in her womb.”
 ib. i. 44.—“Sai! allis sunsei warþ stibna goleinais þeinaizos in ausam meinaim, *lailaik* þata barn in swignipai in wambai meinai;”=“For, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe *leaped* in my womb for joy.”
 ib. vi. 23.—“Faginod in yainamma daga, yah *laikid*;”=“Rejoice ye in that day, and *leap* for joy.”
 ib. xv. 25.—“Wasuþ-þan sunus is sa alþiza ana akra; yah qimands, atiddya newh razn, yah gahausida saggwins yah *laikins*;”=“Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musick and dancing.”

ii. REV. J. C. ATKINSON'S *Cleveland Gloss.*, 1868 :

Lake, laik, v. n. To play, to sport.

In addition to the forms of the verb from Anglo-Saxon, Mæso-Gothic, Old Norse (Icelandic), Danish, and Swedish, as given above, he also has—Old Swedish *leka*; Swedish dialects *laika*, *läka*; N. Frisian *leechen*, *leege*; and Mid. Germ. *leichen*.

II. EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE: BEING (i.) FORMS, AND (ii.) QUOTATIONS, FROM THE 12TH TO THE 16TH CENTURY.

i. FORMS.

The numbers 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 refer to the centuries respectively.

SUBSTANTIVE.

Singular and plural.—12 lakess, larke, le3kes, le3kess, loac, loc; 12-13 lac, lakes; 12-14 laik, laike; 13 lak, lok, lokes; 13-14 lake, leik, leyk; 14 layk, layke3, laying; 14-15 laikes, laykes; 15 laiching, lakan, lakayns, laykin', laykyng; 15-16 layke; 16 laykin. *No date*: lakynes, lakys, lays.

1. To spring, leap, jump. 2. To hop, skip, jnmp. 3. To skip, leap, bound wantonly.

4. A dance; fight, brawl, sport. 5. A dance, assembly of people singing and dancing; a chorus.

VERB.

Present tense.—14 laykeȝ; 14, 15, layke; 15 lake, lakys.

Past t.—12 laiket, lakeden (pl.), lakedenn (pl.); 12, 14 laiked; 13 leikeden (sing.), leykeden (sing.); 14 laikid, layked, layked him, laykeden (pl.); 15 laiked him, laykede hime.

Imperative.—12 lakys (pl.).

Infinitive.—12 lake, laken, lakenn, leȝken, leȝkenn
13 layke, leike, leyke, leyken; 14 laiike, layke, layky hem.

Part. pres.—14 laying.

N.B.—I find Dr. Stratmann, in some of his examples, has *i* where the originals have *y*.

ii. QUOTATIONS.

Orthog. of
12th cent.

Fragment of Elfric's Grammar, Elfric's Glossary, and a Poem on the Soul and Body, in the orthography of the 12th century, but originally written ante 1000; ed. T. Phillips, 1838.

sb. lœc, "munus," 4, 56, (Stratmann).

1154-89. *Destruction of Troy: an Alliterative Romance*, ed. Panton & Donaldson, for E.E.T.S., vols. 39, 56.

vb. (1) to do, to act :—

And euyñ laiked as hom list, lettid hom noght. 1. 7046

(2) to fight :—

Thus þai laiket o þe laund the long day ouer. 1. 9997.

(3) to say, to express :—

Lakys now, ledys, what you lefe think,
And what ye deme to be done at this du tyme. 1. 9807.

sb. a play; hence a fight, danger, struggle :—

Laike— 11. 7811, 9658, 9847.

Laik—

þe day wex dym, droupit þe sun.
þe lyght wex lasse, and þe laik endit. 1. 10408.

Larke, conflict, battle :—

Gret slaght in þe slade, & slyngyng to ground,
And mony lost hade þe lyfle, or þe lark; endit!
1. 7694.

Ante)
1200

A Moral Ode, in *Old English Homilies*, 2nd series; ed. Dr. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1873.

sb. Lac, offering, gift.

Litel lac is gode lief þe cometh of gode wille. 1. 203.

- c. 1200. *Legend of Katharine of Alexandria*, ed. Morton 1841.
sb. dat. brôhten tô lāke. 63 (Stratmann.)
- c. 1200. *The Ormulum* [Lincolnshire], ed. White, 1852.
vb. Lakenn (laken), to make offerings.
 To þeowwtenn Godd 7 *lakenn*. 1. 973.
Lezzkenn (lezken) :—
 Alls iff he wolde *lezzkenn*. 1. 12044.
Lakesst, 2 p. sing :—
 þa *lakesst* tu Drihhtin wiþþ shep
 gastlike i þine þæwess. 1. 1172
Lakedenn (lakeden), pa. t. plur :
 þa þre kingess *lakedenn* Crist. 1. 7430.
sb. Lac, offering, gift.
 Off þatt Judisskenn follkess *lac*. 1. 964.
 7 bi þatt allterr wass þe *lac*
 O fele wise 7arrkedd. 1. 1062.
Lac, plur :—
 Her habbe icc shæwedd þrinne *lac*
 forr þrinne kinne leode. 1. 1144.
Lakess, lezzkess (lezkess), plur. :—
 þa þre kingess *lakedenn* Crist
 Wiþþ þrinne kinne *lakess*,
 Wiþþ recless, 7 wiþþ gold, 7 ec
 Wiþþ myrra, an dere sallfe. 1. 7431.
 I skemmtinng 7 inn idellezze
 Inn ægæde 7 i *lezzkess*. 1. 2166.
Wedlac=wedlock. 1. 2499.
1205. LAYAMON'S *Brvt* [Worcestershire], ed. Madden, 1847.
sb. Lâc—Heo nomen þat lác. 1. 17748.
Lâke (dat.) 1. 31953.
 (Stratmann).
- c. 1230. *Ancren Riwele* [Dorsetshire], ed. Morton, 1853.
sb. Lokes=gifts—
 Hit nis nout for nout iwrten iðe holie gospels of þe
 þreo kinges þet comen uorto offren Jesu Crist þeo
 deorwurde þreo *lokes*. p. 152, l. 10.
Lakes, in MS. Titus D. xviii., Cott. lib. Brit. Museum
 with the same meaning.
1230. *Liflade of St. Juliana*, ed. Cockayne, for E.E.T.S.,
 vol. 51, 1872.
sb. Brudlac [=bridelaik], nuptials—
 Elewsius þat luuede hire | To Eleusius, þat loved her,
 þuhte sw[i]ze longe | it seemed very long, that
 þat ha neren to *brudlac* | she were not to bridal
 7 to bed ibrohte. | and to bed brought. p. 7.

- c. 1250. Story of *Genesis and Exodus* [Norfolk and Suffolk], an Early English Song, ed. R. Morris, for E.E.T.S., 7, 1865.

sb. *Loac* = gift, present—
And iacob sente fer bi-foren
him riche *loac*, and sundri boren,
And iordan he dede ouer waden,
Orf & men, wið welðe laden. l. 1798.

- c. 1280. The Lay of HAVELOCK THE DANE [Lincolnshire], ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., ex. ser. 4, 1868.

vb. *Layke, leyke, leyken*, to play; *Leykeden*, pa. t. pl. played.—
Bigunnen þe[r] for to *layke*:
þider komen bothe stronge and wayke. l. 1011.
Al-so he wolde with hem *leyke*
þat weren for hunger *grene* and bleike. l. 469.
It ne was non so litel knaue,
For to *leyken*, ne forto plawe. l. 950.
Of him he deden al he[r] wille,
And with him *leykeden* here fille. l. 954.

sb. *Leyk*, game—
þat he ne kam þider, þe *leyk* to se. l. 1021.
Wrastling with laddes, putting of ston,
Harping and piping, ful god won,
Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,
Romanz reding on þe bok. l. 2326.

In the edition by Sir F. Madden, for the Roxburgh Club, 1828, *th* is used for þ.

Stratmann quotes—*lei*ke for *leyke*, *leikeden* for *leykeden*, and *leik* for *leyk*.

- c. 1300. *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, ed. Furnivall, 1862.

sb. lutel lôc (lâc) is gode lêf. VIII. 37.
þreo kinges . . . lôk him brôzte. XIX. 128.
(Stratmann.)

1320. (1) *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyzt*, ed. Sir F. Madden, Lond., 1839.

vb. *Layke*, to play, to sport:
& þat yow lyst forto *layke*, lef hit me þynkes. l. 1111.

þer *laykeȝ* þis lorde by lynde wodeȝ eueȝ,
& G. þe god mon, i[n] gay bed lygeȝ. l. 1178.
þay laȝed & *layked* longe,
At þe last scho con hy[m] kysse. l. 1554.

sb. *Layk*, [*laike*, *lake*] = sport, game:
þe joye of sayn Joneȝ day watȝ gentyle to here,
& watȝ last of þe *layk*, lendes þer þoȝten. l. 1023.

To bed 3et er þay 3ede,
 Recorded couenañte3 ofte;
 þe olde lorde of þat leude,¹
 Couþe wel halde *layk* a-lofte.

l. 1125.

- c. 1320-30. (2) *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, ed. R. Morris, for E.E.T.S., 4, 1864.

This edition contains all the previous quotations, and the two following:

sb. *Layke3* = sports; *laykyng* = sport, playing.—
 Preue for to play wyth in oþer pure *layke3*; [*i.e.*,
 He seeks the most valiant that he may prove him.]

l. 262

Wel by-commes such craft vpon cristmasse,
Laykyng of enterlude3, to laze & to syng.

l. 472.

N.B.—Dr. Murray gives the date as c. 1325, and Prof. Skeat as c. 1360.

14th Cent. *English Metrical Homilies*, ed. Small, 1862.

(c. 1300,
 Dr. Murray). vb. *Laikid*, 71.

sb. Sinful *laik*, 58.

(Stratmann.)

- 1340-50. *Alexander and Dindimus*, ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 31, 1878.

sb. *Laik* = play, game—

We ne louen in our land · no *laik* nor no mirthe.

l. 465.

- c. 1350. *William of Palerne* (otherwise *William and the Werewolf*), ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 1; 1867.

vb. *Layke*, to play; (pt. t. *layked*;² pt. t. refl. *layked him*; pl. *laykeden*; pr. part. *layking*):

& to hete here þan to *layke* · here likyng þat time.

l. 1021.

& *layked* þere at lyking · al þe long daye.

l. 1026.

(Stratmann has *laiked* in error.)

& *layked him*² long while · to lesten þat merþe. l. 31.

& as þei *laykeden* in here laike · þei lokede a-boute.

l. 3110.

so louely lay þat ladi & ich · *layking* to-gaderes. l. 699.

sb.—*Layk*, *laike* = a "lark," a game, play;—

ak so liked him his *layk* · wiþ þe ladi to pleie.

(Stratmann has *laik* in error.)

l. 678.

And see *laike* in line 3110 above.

1 lede?

2 amused himself, played about.

- c. 1350. *Joseph of Arimathie, or the Holy Grail*, ed. Skeat ; E.E.T.S., 44, 1871.

sb.—*Leyk*, play, game:—

þus þei ladden þe lyf and lengede longe,
þat luyte liked his *leyk* · þer as he lengede.
(Stratmann has *leik* in error.)

l. 17.

1352. MINOT, *poems of*; in *Political Poems and Songs*, relating to Eng. History, vol. i.; ed. T. Wright (Rolls' Series), 1859.

sb.—*Laykes*, sports, games:—

At Hamton, als I understand,
Come the gaylayes vnto land,
And ful fast thai slogh and brend,
Bot noght so mekille als sum men wend.
For or thai wened war thai mett
With men that sone thaire *laykes* lett.

Edw. III's Expedition to Brabant, 1339. l. 64.

- N.B.—(1) In *Specimens of Early English*, Part II., ed. Morris and Skeat, þ is used instead of *th*.

(2) Stratm. quotes *laikes* from Ritson's edit. p. 10, (1825.)

- c. 1360. *Early English Alliterative Poems* [West Midland], ed. Morris ; E.E.T.S., 1, 1864.

vb.—*Layke*, to play:—

& *layke3* wyth hem as yow lyst & lete3 my gester one.
(Stratm. has *laike3* in error.)

B. l. 872.

sb.—(1) *Layke*, sport, play, amusement:—

& alle þe *layke3* þat a lorde ȝit in londe schewe.

B. l. 122.

& if he louyes clene *layk* þat is oure lorde ryche.

B. l. 1053.

(2) *Layke*, device:—

þat for her lodlych *layke3* alosed þay were.

B. l. 274.

& if we leuen þe *layk* of oure layth synnes,
& styлле steppen in þe sty3e he sty3tles hym seluen,
He wyl wende of his wodschip, & his wrath leue,
& forgif *vus* þis gult ȝif we hym god leuen.

B. l. 401.

God is
merciful.

- c. 1377 (1) W. LANGLAND (or Langley).—*The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*; ed. W. W. Skeat ; Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1874.

vb.—*Laike*, to play, sport:—

And ȝif him list for to *laike* þenne loke we mowen,
And peren in his presence þer-while hym plaie liketh.

Prol. l. 172.

- c. 1380 (2) W. LANGLAND (or Langley.)—*The Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman*; ed. T. Wright, 1856.

sb.—*Layk*, play :—

And poverte nys but a petit thyng,
Apereth noght to his navele;
And lovely *layk* was it nevere
Betwene the longe and the shorte.

p. 287, l. 9388.

- c. 1380. *Sir Perumbras*, in *English Charlemayne Romances*, ed. S. J. Herrtage; E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 34; 1879.

vb. *Layky hem*.

The French
make merry.

For of vitailles þai hadden þo plentee! & burdes briȝe
To ete & drynke & murie bee! & to *layky hem* wan
þay wolde.

p. 106, l. 3356.

- c. 1400. (1) *Anturs of Arthur*, in *Early English Metr. Romances* [Lancashire]; ed. Robson (for Camden Soc.), 1842.

sb. *Laikes*, XLII. 5. (Stratmann.)

- c. 1400. (2) *Awntyrs of Arthure*, in *Ancient Romance-Poems*; ed. Sir F. Madden, 1839.

sb. *Laike*, strife of battle :—

Lordes and ladies of þat *laike* likes
And þonked God fele siþe for Gawayn¹ the gode.
¹n = ne. XLII. 5.

- c. 1400. *Golagros and Gawane*, in *Ancient Romance-Poems*; ed. Sir F. Madden, 1839.

sb. *Lake* = strife of battle :—

Thus may ye lippin on the *lake*, throu lair þt I leir.

l. 832.

1415. *The Crowned King*; ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 54, 1873.

sb. *Laykes*, games :—

The condicion of a kyng shuld comfort his peple;
For suche *laykes* ben to love þere leedes laghen alle.

l. 134;

which means—"Those games are most liked in which all the people who join can laugh."

- c. 1420. *The Senyn Sages*, in vol. iii. of *Metrical Rowances*; ed. Weber, 1810.

vb.—*Lake* = please :—

(A! how wimmen conne hit make,
Whan thai wil ani man *lake*!)

Tale iv., *Ypocras and his neuu*. l. 1212.

Laiiked him = pleased him :—
 Thare the erl dwelled at nyght,
 And *laiiked him* with his lady bright.

Tale xiv., *The Two Dreams*, l 3310.

c. 1420-24. *WYNTOUN, Cronykil of Scotland.*

sb. Laiikyng, laykvng, play ; applied to *justing*—

— Ramsay til hym coyn in hy,
 And gert hym entre. swne than he
 Sayd, "God mot at yhoure *laykyng* be!"
 Syne savd he, "Lordis, cn qwhat manere
 "Will yhe ryn at this justvng here?"

viii. 35, 76.—Quoted in Dr. Jamieson's *Scottish Dict.*, s.vv. *Laiikyng, laykyng*.

c. 1440. *Gesta Romanorum*, English version of ; ed. S. J. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., ex. ser. 33, 1879.

sb. Lakayns, toys, playthings :—

He putt vp in his bosom þes iij. *lakayns*. p. 123.

I give the paragraph which describes the three *lakayns*—
 also designated *cautils* :—

. . . . what dude he but yede, and purveyde
 him of iij. cautils ; *scil.* [1] of | an honest Garlonde of
 Rede Rosys ; . . . [2] the secounde | cautille of a
 silkyn gyrdil, sotilly I-made ; . . . | . . . [3] the
 thirde of a sotyl purse made of silke, | honourid with
 precious stones, and in this purs was a balle of iij. |
 colowris, and hit had a superscripcion, þat saide thus,
Qui mecum | ludit, nunquam de meo ludo saciabitur, þis is to
 seye, he that *pleithe* | with me, shalle neuer have I-nowhe
 of my play. he putt vp in his | bosom þes iij. *lakayns*.
 And when thes wordes wer borne to þe Emperour,
 he comaundid his dowter to Rinne with him.

Halliwell quotes from some other edition :—

He putt vp in his bosome thes iij. *laykayns*. p. 105.

c. 1440. *Morte Arthure* ; ed. from Rob. Thornton's M.S. by G. G. Perry ; E.E.T.S., vol. 8, 1865.

sb. Layke, sport, game :—

Arthur pro-
 mises rewards.

Thay salle noghte lesse, one þis *layke*, 3if me lyfe
 happene,

þat þus are lamede for my lufe be þis lythe strandez.

l. 1599.

c. 1440. *Sir Perceval of Galles* [Yorkshire], in Thornton Romances ; ed. J. O. Halliwell ; Camden Soc. vol. 30, 1844.

sb. Laykes, sports, games, a glossarial note says :—

This term is constantly applied by the romance writers
 to combats. War was called sword-layke.

Than his swerde drawes he,
 Strykes at Percevelle the fre,
 The childe hadd no powsté
 His *laykes* to lett ·

The stede was his awnne wille,
 Saw the swerde come hym tille
 Leppe up over an hille
 Fyve stryde mett.

l. 1704.

(Stratmann has *laihes*.)

- c. 1440. *Promptorium Parvulorum*; ed. Albert Way, for Camden Soc., 1843.

sb. *Laykin'* or thynges þat chyldryñ' pley wythe. *Ludibile*.

- c. 1440. *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*; ed. from R. Thornton's M.S. by G. G. Perry; E.E.T.S., v. 26, 1867.

sb. *Layke*, a play, game:—

Bot þare es | many thynges þat ere cause of swylke
 wrechede twynnyng, als | mete, drynke, reste, clay-
 thyng, *layke*, discorde, thoghte, laboure, | hethyng.
 p. 38, l. 21.

- c. 1450. *Towneley Mysteries* [Yorkshire], in Eng. Miracle or Plays or Mysteries; ed. W. Marriott, 1838.

c. 1460.

vb. I shalle do a lyttle, sir, and emang ever *lake*,
 For yit lay my soper never on my stomake
 In feyldys.

p. 114, l. 4 [*Pastores*].

Now are we at the Monte of Calvarye,
 Have done, folows, and let now se
 How we can with hym *lake*.

p. 139, l. 32 [*Crucifixio*].

sb. Mak applies the word *lakan* = play-thing to his children—

Bot so
 Etys as fast as she can,
 And ilk yere that commys to man,
 She brynges furthe a *lakan*,
 And som yeres two.

p. 117, l. 8 [*Pastores*].

1570. PETER LEVINS, *Manipulus Vocabulorum*: A Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language; ed. H. B. Wheatley, for Camden Soc., vol. xcv, 1867.

vb. to *Layke*, play, ludere.

col. 198, l. 18.

sb. A *Láykin*, babie, crepundia, orum.

col. 134, l. 5.

A *Layke*, play, ludus, i.

col. 198, l. 15.

In Carlisle Cathedral: Behind the choir-stalls of this Cathedral is a series of ancient paintings illustrating the legends of St. Anthony, St. Cuthbert, and St. Augustine. On the first part relating to St. Cuthbert is this inscription:

Her Cuthbert was forbid *layks* and plays,
As S. Bede i' hys story says.

Quoted in the *Almondbury and Huddersfield Glossary*, but no date given.

APPENDIX.

LARK = A FROLIC, SPORT, FUN.

This word forms an appropriate Appendix to *lake* or *laik* = to play, as it is derived from the same source, but has *r* inserted. It is a slang word in modern English. In Southern English, as Professor Skeat observes [*Etym. Eng. Dict. s.v. Lark* (2)], "the *r* simply denotes the lengthening of the vowel, which is like the *a* in father." There is reason to believe that the word is now used throughout England. In most parts of the Midland district the *r* is sounded.

I. AREA OF USAGE.

i. I note in the first place :—

a. Prof. Skeat (1) calls the *sb.* "Southern English."
Etymol. Eng. Dict. s.v. Knowledge.

(2) calls the *vb.* "Modern South-English."
Note in *Holderness Glossary*,
E.D.S., *s.v. Lake, vb.*

b. J. K. Robinson, in the *Whitby Glossary*, E.D.S., *s.v. Lake, v.* to play, says—"Cf. A. S. *lācan*, to play, and the *London English*, to *lark*."

- ii. I now give the counties in which I have information that the word is used.

YORKSHIRE, ALMONDBURY and HUDDERSFIELD :

The E. D. S. Glossary for this district, *s.v.* Lake, *sb.* says—"It is the origin of the word *lark*, which is sometimes also used here."

LANCASHIRE, MANCHESTER :

The *sb.* was current when the writer came to reside here forty-one years ago.

DERBYSHIRE, CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH DISTRICT :

At the time I left here for Manchester, forty-one years ago, *lark* = a frolic, etc., was not used. I learned recently from a native of Peak Forest, seventy-three years of age, who has resided at Chapel-en-le-Frith a number of years, that the word has come into use in the district within the last thirty years.

I have recently ascertained by correspondence that the word is current at the following places : each place, of course, represents the centre of a district. I give the definitions or meanings in the words of the respective correspondents.

DERBYSHIRE, BAKEWELL and ASHFORD :

"We might in conversation *lark* or joke with words ; or we might *lark* or joke in play, or in any in- or out-door exercise."

CHESHIRE, EAST OF NORTH EAST ; BOLLINGTON, three miles N.E. of MACCLESFIELD :

The general meaning of a frolic, sport, fun, from vivâ voce information.

Ditto WEST ; TARPORLEY :

"The word *lark* as used here is to play a mischievous trick to any one with no bad intent."

Ditto SOUTH ; BICKLEY, three miles E.N.E. of MALPAS :

Mr. Darlington, author of the *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, says : "As to *lark*, as used in this district, I should define it as a 'frolicsome prank.' There is a connotation of mild mischief about the word."

SHROPSHIRE, SOUTH ; MUCH WENLOCK :

"The meaning of *lark* about here is, a lot going to have a game, or a spree, or amusement."

STAFFORDSHIRE, NORTH; FLASH, seven miles N.N.E. of
LEEK:

"The word *lark* . . . it is very common here, in this district."

Ditto SOUTH; WILLENHALL:

"*Lark* is a very common expression here for fun, though I think it is more particularly meant [for], or applied to, fun which has mischief in it, or fun at the expense of some one else."

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, WORKSOP:

"*Lark* is commonly used in this neighbourhood for flirting—lark with a girl; a party of men drinking [or] carousing, are often described as *larking*; in fact, frolic, fun, joke, game, are all commonly described as *larking*; so is telling a friend a falsehood, and making him believe it [to be] the truth, often described as having a *lark* with him."

Ditto MANSFIELD:

"The word *lark* is often used in conjunction with people having enjoyed themselves, or participated in any kind of fun or mischief; [they] would say—'What a *lark* we had last night.'"

LEICESTERSHIRE, MARKET BOSWORTH:

"The word *lark* is generally used in this county for fun or games; and sometimes *larkin* [larking]."

WARWICKSHIRE, SOUTH; TYSOE:

Mrs. Francis, of Tysoe vicarage, author of the E.D.S. Glossary of S. Warwickshire, says:—"The word 'lark' is very commonly used here in the sense you give it, of a joke or a prank;—but I always considered it as only a *slang* word, as it is used by educated and uneducated alike."

HEREFORDSHIRE, THE BACHE, three and a half miles
E.N.E. of LEOMINSTER:

"Respecting the word *lark*, I may say it is very frequently used in this county . . . viz., [as] a frolic or joke, sometimes at some one's expense. It is often said of a practical joke—'he has been up to another *lark*,' or 'he has had another *spree*.' If a person, during a drinking fit, commits any slight acts of depredation in fun, they say—'he has been *larking*.'"

OXFORDSHIRE, HANDBOROUGH and DISTRICT, W. and
N.W. of OXFORD :

Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, author of the E. D. S Glossary of this part of the county, says:—"The word *lark* is, I believe, *well known* at Handborough and neighbourhood, both as a substantive and verb; but I don't think it is much used amongst the people who speak dialect—*spree* is the usual word. . . . I should think *lark* is known all over the country."

II. ETYMOLOGY.

It is sufficient to cite Prof. Skeat's article on this word from his Etymol. Eng. Dictionary.

LARK (2), a game, sport, fun. (E[nglish]). Spelt *lark* in modern E[nglish], and now a slang term. But the *r* is intrusive, and the word is an old one; it should be *laak* or *lahk*, where *aa* has the sound of *a* in *father*. M[iddle] E[nglish] *lak*, *lok*; also *laik*, which is a Scand. form. See Will. of Palerne, 678; P. Plowman, B. xiv. 243; Ormulum, 1157, 2166; Ancren Riwe, p. 152, note *b*; etc. (Stratmann). — [=derived from] A. S. *lác*, play, contest, prey, gift, offering; Grein, ii. 148. + [=cognate with] Icel. *leikr*, a game, play, sport. + [=cognate with] Swed. *lek*, sport. + [=cognate with] Dan. *leg*, sport. + [=cognate with] Goth. *laiks*, a sport, dance. β All from a Teut. base, LAIK, to dance, skip for joy, play; cf. Goth. *laikan*, to skip for joy, Luke i. 41, 44, A. S. *lācan*, Icel. *leika*, to play; Fick iii. 259.

There is one early quotation in which the form *larke* occurs, viz.—1154-89, *Destruction of Troy*, l. 7694. See p. 26, *supra*.

N E S H .

This word, with its commonest variant NASH, and scarce variants NAISH and NISH, has a wide area of modern *dialectal* usage. Its use as a *literary* word was continuous both in Early and Middle English.

A.—MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE.

I. FROM GLOSSARIES OR PRINTED BOOKS.

i. A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES
in which the Word is found.

No.	DATE.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR.	ORTHOGRAPHY.
1 (1)	1674	North Country ..	John Ray, [and E.D.S. Repr. 1874]	Nash or Nesh
2	1749	Country Word ..	N. Bailey (Eng. Dict.)	Neshe
3	1781	North of England.	Rev. J. Hutton [and E.D.S. Repr. 1873]	Nash
4	1790	North and South..	Francis Grose [also Grose & Pegge, 1839]	Nesh or Nash
5	1822	Provincial Word..	Robt. Nares (Gloss. to Shakspeare and his Contemporaries)	Nesh
6	1825 1839	North Country ..	J. T. Brockett : Newcastle, 1825, and London, 1839	Nash, nesh, naish
7	1839	North, or Country Word	W. Holloway	Nash, nesh
8	"	Various parts of England	C. Richardson (Eng. Dict.)	Nesh
9	1863	North	From Morton's Cyclop. of Agriculture; E.D.S., 1880	do.
10 (1)	1874	Ditto	J. O. Halliwell (<i>Dict. Arch. and Provincial Words</i>)	do.
11	1879-82	Provincial English	Prof. W. W. Skeat (Etym. Eng. Dict.)	do.
12 (1)	1880	Ditto	T. Wright (<i>Dict. Obsol. and Prov. Engl.</i>)	Nesh, Nesse
13	1868	Yorkshire :— Cleveland.....	Rev. J. C. Atkinson	Nesh

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(continued).

No.	DATE.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR.	ORTHOGRAPHY.
14	1811	West Riding ..	Dr. Willan, in <i>Archæologia</i> , & E.D.S. Repr., 1873	Nash
15	1828	Craven	Rev. W. Carr, 2nd edit.	Nash, Nesh
16	1862	Leeds	C. C. Robinson	Nesh
17	1883	Almondbury and Huddersfield..	Rev. A. Easter, ed. by Rev. T. Lees, E.D.S.	do.
18	1829	Hallamshire (Sheffield Dist.)	Rev. Joseph Hunter	do.
19	1839	Sheffield	Abel Bywater	do.
20	1873	Cumberland	Rob. Ferguson	Nash, Nesh
21	1878	Ditto Central and S.W.	Wm. Dickinson ; E.D.S.	Nash, Nashy
22	1839	Ditto North Cumberland and Westmorland	Ditto Poems, Songs, and Ballads, with Glossary	Nesh Nash
		Lancashire:—		
23	1757	South	J. Collier (Tim Bobbin)	Nesh
24	1775	Ditto	J. A. Picton; Notes on S. Lanc. Dialect	do.
25	1867	Lonsdale	R. B. Peacock, in <i>Phil. Soc. Trans.</i>	do.
26	1869	Furness	J. P. Morris.....	do.
27	1875-82	General	J. H. Nodal and G. Milner; E.D.S.	do.
28	1877	Cheshire	Col. Egerton Leigh	do.
29	1884-86	Ditto	Robert Holland; E.D.S.	do.
30	1887	Ditto South ..	Thomas Darlington; E.D.S.	do.
31	1865-66	Derbyshire (Bakewell District)	J. Sleigh, in <i>Reliquary</i> for January, 1865	Nesh
32	1879-81	Shropshire	Miss G. F. Jackson..	do.
33	1880	Staffordshire	C. H. Poole.....	do.
34	1881	Leicestershire	A. B. Evans, D.D., enlarged by his son, S. Evans, LL.D.; E.D.S.	Nesh, Naish, Nash
35	1877	Lincolnshire (Manley and Corringham)	Edward Peacock ; E.D.S.	Nesh
36	1851	Northamptonshire	T. Sternberg	Naish, Nash
37	1854	Ditto	Miss A. E. Baker ..	Nesh, Nash
1 (2)	1674	Warwickshire	John Ray (quotes Somner, 1659)	Nash, or Nesh

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(continued).

No.	DATE.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR.	ORTHOGRAPHY.
38	1804	Herefordshire	From Duncumb's Herefordsh.; E.D.S. Repr., 1874	Neshe
39	1839	Ditto	G. Cornwall Lewis	Nesh
40	"	Ditto and some adjoining counties	Published by John Murray, London	do.
1 (3)	1674	Worcestershire ..	John Ray (quotes Skinner, 1671)	Nash, or Nesh
41	1882	Ditto West	Mrs. E. L. Cham- berlain; E.D.S.	Nesh
42	1884	Ditto Upton- on-Severn	Rev. R. Lawson; E.D.S.	do.
43	1789	Gloucester, Vale of	From Marshall's Rural Economy; E.D.S. Repr. 1873	do.
10 (2)	1874	Suffolk	J. O. Halliwell	do.
12 (2)	1880	Ditto	Thos. Wright	do.
44	1883	Hampshire	Rev. Sir W. H. Cope, Bart.; E.D.S.	Nash, Nesh
45	1825	Wiltshire	From Britton's Beauties of Wilt- shire; E.D.S. Repr., 1879	Nash, or Nesh
46	1842	Ditto	J. Yonge Akerman ..	do. do.
12 (3)	1857 1880	Ditto	Thomas Wright	Nash
10 (3)	1874	Ditto	J. O. Halliwell	do.
47	1848	Dorsetshire	Rev. Wm. Barnes, 2nd edit.	Nesh
48	1853	West of England..	G. P. R. Pulman ..	Nish
49	1880	Cornwall, West ..	Miss M. A. Courtney; E.D.S.	Nash
50	1881	Wales, (Radnor- shire)	Rev. W. E. T. Morgan; E.D.S.	Nesh

ii. DEFINITIONS OR SENSES.

These include a considerable variety of words, phrases, and sentences. The numbers appended to them refer to the glossaries in the foregoing table in which each such word, phrase, and sentence is found.

Tender, is found in 44 glossaries out of 50; the exceptions are Nos. 14, 18, 19, 22, 31, and 49.

Delicate, 8, 10 (1), 12 (1), 13, 17, 20, 25, 27—29, 31—37, 39—42, 50 = 22 glossaries.

Soft, 5, 6, 8, 10 (1), 11, 12 (1), 13, 15, 25, 26, 27, 47 = 12 gloss.

Weak, 1 (1, 2, 3), 5, 6, 7, 10 (1), 12 (1), 13, 25, 27 = 9 gloss.

Puling, 1 (1, 2, 3).	Washy, 1 (1, 2, 3), 7, 43.
Nice, 2, 17.	Brittle, 3, 15, 20, 21, 22.
Fragile, 6, 14, 21.	Poor-spirited, 10 (1), 19, 32.
Hungry, 10 (2), 12 (2).	Chilly, 10 (3), 12 (3), 44, 45, 46.
Susceptible to cold, 16.	Sensitive to cold, 17.
Easily distressed with cold; much affected by cold; fond of <i>croodling</i> over the fire, 18.	
Effeminate, 28, 31.	Sensitive, 30.
Unable to withstand physical pain, 29.	
Easily susceptible of cold, 31.	Lacking energy, 32.
Susceptible of cold, 33, 41, 49.	Scrupulous (Metaph.) 33.
Dainty, 34, 36, 39, 40.	Susceptible, 34.
Coddling; fearful of cold, 35.	Flimsy, 37.
Pale; debilitated, 49.	

iii. QUOTATIONS OR ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES,

from thirteen of the foregoing glossaries, referred to by their respective numbers. In several cases it is also stated to which of the following categories the word is applied: (1) man; (2) beasts; (3) inanimate objects.

16. YORKSHIRE, LEEDS; C. C. Robinson:

Nesh, tender, susceptible; as one is to cold, who declares himself "varry nesh."

18. Ditto HALLAMSHIRE (Sheffield Dist.); Rev. J. Hunter:

Nesh, easily distressed with cold; much affected by it; fond of *croodling* over the fire. This, I believe, is its peculiar signification, and it is now applied solely to man. It bears a near relation to *tender* and *delicate*, but there is a shade of difference which rendered this a genuine Saxon word well worth preserving. A. S. *nesc*. Something of censure is implied in the application of it.

19. Ditto SHEFFIELD; A. Bywater:

To *dee* [die] *nesh*, to give up an enterprize dispirited.

27. LANCASHIRE; Nodal and Milner:

Nesh.—A very expressive adjective (of which the current word "nice," in the sense of "dainty," has only half the force) is *nesh*, meaning weak and tender, not able to bear pain; in Anglo-Saxon, "*nesc*" [correctly *hnesce*]. [Sir] Thomas Wilson, in his *Art of Rhetoric* [Retorique, 1553], perhaps the earliest writer on any such subject in the language, uses the Lancashire noun, and writes, "To be born of woman declares weakness of spirit, *neshnese* of body, and fickleness of mind."

1854, Rev. W. Gaskell, *Lect. Lanc. Dialect*, p. 20. Oh, he's too *nesh* for owt; they'n browt him up that way. 1881, *Colloquial Use*.

28. CHESHIRE ; Col. Egerton Leigh :

Nesh, adj.—Tender, delicate, effeminate. Applied to man, woman, child, or beast.

30. CHESHIRE, SOUTH ; T. Darlington :

Nesh [nesh] *adj.* tender, sensitive. I've gotten *nesh* 'ands [ahy]v got'n nesh aan'z.] Yū *nesh* kitlin! [Yū nesh ky'it'lin!]. I do sū sweet (sweat) at a night, maiz (makes) me *nesh* [ahy dōo sū sweet ūt ū neyt, mai'z mi nesh].

Plants may, I think, also be spoken of as *nesh* (sensitive).

32. SHROPSHIRE ; Miss G. F. Jackson :

(1) *Nesh* [nesh'] *adj.* delicate, tender; said of the health or physical constitution. Common. (1) 'It wunna likely as a poor little *nesh* child like 'er could do; it ōōd tak' a strung girdl i' that place.' (2) 'Yo' lads be off out o' doors, an' nod rook round the fire—yo'n be as *nesh* as a noud ōōman.'

(2) *adj.* Poor-spirited; lacking energy.—WEM [North Shrop.] 'Er's a *nesh* piece, 'er dunna do above 'afe a day's work, an' 'er's no use at all under a cow [milking a cow].'

34. LEICESTERSHIRE ; Dr. A. B. Evans, and his Son :

Nesh, *Naish*, *Nash*, *adj.* delicate, susceptible, dainty, tender: often applied to the constitution of man and beast.

'The meer's [mare's] a *naish* feeder.'

35. LINCOLNSHIRE, MANLEY & CORRINGHAM ; Edwd. Peacock :

Nesh, *adj.* delicate, tender, coddling, fearful of cold. 'She's strange an' *nesh* aboot her sen, nivver so much as goes to th' ash-hole wi'out her bonnet on.'

37. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ; Miss A. E. Baker :

Nash, or more commonly *Nesh*. Tender, flimsy, delicate. A good old word now rarely used: I have heard it said of a sickly child, "It's flesh is so *nesh*, I don't think it will live."

43. GLOUCESTER, VALE OF ; From Marshall's *Rural Economy* :

Nesh, *adj.* the common term for tender or *washy* as spoken of a cow or horse.

44. HAMPSHIRE ; Rev. Sir W. H. Cope, Bart. :

Nash, *Nesh* [nash, nesh], *adj.* Tender, chilly.—Akerman. Said of grass in the New Forest.—Wise.

47. DORSETSHIRE ; Rev. Wm. Barnes :

Nēsh. Tender ; soft. " This meat is *nēsh*." " Da
veel *nēsh*."

The *nesh* tops
Of the young hazel,
1788, Crowe's *Lewesdon Hill*, ver. 30.

iv. I now give EXAMPLES OF VERBS from six of the foregoing Glossaries, and of an ADVERB from J. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary.

10. Halliwell :

Neshin, *v.* To make tender. *Cheshire*.

12. T. Wright :

Neshin, *v.* To make tender. *Cheshire*.

28. CHESHIRE ; Col. Egerton Leigh :

Neshin, *v.* To make tender, to coddle.
Prompt. Parv. and *Wilbraham*.

29. Ditto. R. Holland :

Neshin, *v.* to make tender. W[ilbraham], who gives it as an old word ; it was, therefore, probably obsolete in his day.

30. CHESHIRE, SOUTH ; T. Darlington :

Nesh it [*nesh it*] = [*naesh it*], *v.n.* to be afraid, shrink from doing anything. " W'en it cum to gettin' up at five o'clock ov a cowl winter's mornin', hoo *nesht it*" [*Wen it kum tū gy'et'in ūp ūt ūhyv ūklok' ūv ū kuwd win'tūrz mau'rnin, ōo nesht (=naesht) it*].

34. LEICESTERSHIRE :

The word is also sometimes used as a verb impersonal. 'Shay's a gooin' to be married, an' it een't o' noo use 'er *neshin' it*,' *i.e.* being coy or reluctant.

YORKSHIRE ; WHITBY DISTRICT :

Neshly, *adv.* noiselessly.

II. DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES.

1875 TO 1887.

This word is constantly used in the dialects of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. It is, therefore, necessary to explain why it has not been recorded oftener during my visits.

In recording the phonology of English dialects, what is primarily required is the dialectal pronunciation of *literary* or *received English* words, in order that the varied forms of pronunciation may be compared for all English counties; hence, purely dialectal words, as *clem*, *nesh*, *oss*, &c., are not available for this general comparison, their area of usage being only parts of the country respectively: consequently, these have not received the same degree of attention as representative received English words, such as *father*, *mother*, *day*, *green*, *house*, *home*, *night*, *noon*, &c., &c.

i. TABLE OF LOCALITIES.

N ^O . OF PLACE.	COUNTY.	TOWN, VILLAGE, ETC., AND DATE.	ORTHOGRAPHY.
1	Yorkshire	Marsden, April, 1878..	Nesh.
2		Ripponden, do. ..	do.
3		Thorne, 9 miles N.E. of Doncaster, April, 1887	do.
4	Lancashire	Barnsley, April, 1887..	do.
5		Higher Walton (near Walton - le - Dale), May, 1875	do.
6		Warrington, June, 1875	do.
7	Cheshire	Ormskirk, Jan., 1876..	do.
8		Farndon, Dec., 1882 ..	do.
9		Ashover, Dec., 1876 ..	do.
10	Derbyshire	Chesterfield, May, 1883	do.
11		Alfreton, Aug. & Dec., 1883	do.
12		Sandiacre, Dec., 1883..	do.
13	Shropshire	Church Greasley, Dec., 1886	do.
14		Much Wenlock, Sept., 1880	do.
15		Newport, May, 1883 ..	do.
16	Staffordshire	West Bromwich, Oct., 1877	do.
17		Willenhall, Aug., 1879.	Nash.
18		Burton-on-Trent, Sept., 1879	Nesh.
19		Leek, May, 1880.....	do.
20		Middle Hills, N. of Leek, May, 1880	do.
21		Oakamoor, April, 1882.	do.
22		Denstone, ditto	do.
23		Lichfield, May, 1885..	do.
24		Codsall, Dec., 1886 ..	Nash and Nesh.

TABLE OF LOCALITIES—(*continued*),

No. of PLACE.	COUNTY.	TOWN, VILLAGE, ETC., AND DATE.	ORTHOGRAPHY.
25	Nottinghamshire ..	Retford, April, 1879 ..	Nesh.
26		Mansfield, June, 1879..	do.
27		Worksop, ditto ..	do.
28		Bingham, Sept., 1879..	do.
29		Bawtry, Aug., 1886 ..	do.
30	Leicestershire	Finningley, Aug., 1886.	do.
31		Loughborough, Aug, 1878	do.
32		Upton, 4 miles S.E. of Market Bosworth, Dec., 1886	do.
33	Lincolnshire	Trent Side, N. of Gainsborough, April, 1887	do.
34	Warwickshire	Nuneaton, Oct., 1880..	do.
35	Herefordshire	Knowle, Dec., 1886 ..	Nash.
36		Much Cowarne, Aug., 1881	Nesh.
37	Worcestershire ..	Abberley, Oct., 1880 ..	Nash.
38		Bewdley, ditto ..	do.
39		Kidderminster, Sept., 1882	do.
40	Gloucestershire ..	Tewkesbury, April, 1885	do.
41		Cranham, 5 miles S.E. of Gloucester, Sept., 1885	Nesh.
42		Stonehouse, Sept., 1885	do.
	Wales:—		
43	Flintshire (detached)	Bettisfield, June, 1882..	do.
44		Hanmer (Arowry), June, 1882	do.
45	Denbighshire ..	Wrexham, Dec., 1882..	do.

NOTE.—The pronunciation of the form *Nesh* is [naesh] at all the respective places, except at No. 14, Much Wenlock, Salop, where I recorded [naesh or nesh]. The form *Nash* was pronounced [naash] at all the respective places.

ii. DEFINITIONS OR SENSES.

The numbers appended to them refer to the respective places in the foregoing table. The form "Tender, &c." was

recorded at several places; I have analysed this as, "Tender, delicate."

Tender—was recorded at 41 places out of 45; the exceptions are Nos. 9, 11, 28, and 41.

Delicate, 1, 5—8, 14, 16—20, 25—27, 29, 31, 34, 36, 38, 43—45 = 22 places.

Delicate in health, &c., 9.

Sensitive to cold, 10, 11, 24.

Chilly, 28.

Cold, 41.

Susceptible of cold, 42.

iii. ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES.

10. DERBYSHIRE ; CHESTERFIELD :

Tha'r so *nesh* [Dhaa)r sũ naesh] = tender, or sensitive to cold.

24. STAFFORDSHIRE ; CODSALL :

Her was *nash* I reckon [Uur wũz naash au raek'n] = tender, or sensitive to cold.

28. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ; BINGHAM :

I feel *nesh* = chilly.

30. Ditto FINNINGLEY :

When young plants which have grown very quickly are cut down by the frost, they are said to be *nesh*.

35. WARWICKSHIRE ; KNOWLE :

How *nash* you are! [Aaw naash yöö :aar !].

38. WORCESTERSHIRE ; BEWDLEY :

You be *nash* [Yöö bëë naash].

39. Ditto KIDDERMINSTER :

Some on (of) us be *nash* [Sùm on ũz b:ee naash].

NOTE.—I recorded the following sentence containing a VERB at FARNDON, CHESHIRE, in Dec., 1882 :—

Yo're *neshin'* it [yoa)ũr naesh'in ĩt] = shrinking from it, giving it up.

B.—ETYMOLOGY, AND EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE.

I. ETYMOLOGY.

The word *Nesh* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *hnæsce*, *hnesce*, soft; with which the Gothic *hnaskwus*, soft, tender, delicate, is cognate. See Professor Skeat's *Etymol. Engl. Dict. s.v. NESH*; also *s.v. NESH* in *Errata*.

I. ANGLO-SAXON :

Dr. Bosworth's *compend. Ang.-Sax. Dict.*, 1852—

Hnesc (*hnæsc*, *nesc*), erroneously for *Hnesce* (*hnæsce*, *nesce*), Tender, soft, *nesh*.

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, A.D. 995; ed. by Dr. Bosworth and E. Waring, Esq., 1865—

Matt. xi. 8.—“Oððe hwi eode ge út geseon? mann *hnescum* gyrlum gescrýðne? Nú! ða ðe syn *hnescum* gyrlum gescrýðde synt on cyninga húsum;” = “But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in *soft* raiment? behold, they that wear *soft* clothing are in kings' houses.”

Matt. xxiv. 32.—“Ðonne hys twíg byþ *hnesce*;” = “When his (the fig tree's) branch is yet *tender*.”

Luke vii. 25.—“ðone man mid *hnescum* reafum gescrýðne?” = “A man clothed in *soft* raiment [*plur. clothes*].”

2. GOTHIC :

Rev. [now Prof.] Skeat's *Mæso-Gothic Glossary*, 1868—

Hnaskwus, *adj.* soft, tender, delicate, Mat. xi. 8; Lu. vii. 25 [O. E. *nesh*].

Gothic Gospels, A.D. 360; ed. Bosworth and Waring, 1865—

Matt. xi. 8.—“mannan *hnasgyaim* wastyom gawasidana? Sai! þaiei *hnasgyaim* wasidai sind in gardim þiudane sind;” = “A man clothed in *soft* raiment? behold, they that wear *soft* [clothing understood] are in kings' houses.”

Lu. vii. 25.—“mannan in *hnasgyaim* wastyom gawasidana?” = “A man clothed in *soft* raiment?”

II. EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE: BEING (i.) FORMS, AND (ii.) QUOTATIONS, FROM THE 12TH TO THE 17TH CENTURY.

i. FORMS.

The numbers 12 to 17 refer to the centuries respectively.

ADJECTIVE.

12, 14, 15 nesshe; 13 neys; 13—15 nesche, nessche;
13—17 nesh; 14 neische, nessse; 14—17 neshe;
15 neisse.

SUBSTANTIVE.

14 neischede, nesse, nesshede; 15 neisse; 16
neshenes.

VERB.

Pres. tense.—12 neshen, nesshesst; 14 nasshe,
nhessep; 15 nesche.

Part. pres.—15 neschyñ'.

Part. past.—12 nesshedd; 13 nesched.

ADVERB.

13 nessche, nesselyche.

ADVERBIAL PHRASES: these signify—entirely, altogether,
on every point, in every way, under all circum-
stances. See Glossary to *Sir Ferumbras*.

13 nessche and hard; 14 nesch oper harde, nesche
and hard, for nesch or hard, in hard & in nesche,
to harde & for nesche, at nessche & hard, at
hard & neychs; 15 for hard ne nessche.

ii. QUOTATIONS.

c. 1200. *The Ormulum* [Lincolnshire], in Spec. E. Eng.,
ed. Morris.

adj.—ȝ ȝiff þin herte iss arefull,
ȝ milde, ȝ soffte, ȝ *nesshe*.

Pt. I., p. 55, l. 1461.

v. 2 *pres.*—þær þurh þatt tu brekesst wel þin corn,
ȝ grindesst itt ȝ *nesshesst*.

ib. p. 58, l. 1549.

Part. pa.—wiþþ laf þatt iss wiþþ elesæw
all smeredd wel ȝ *nesshedd*.

ib. p. 55, l. 1471.

Ditto

ed. R. M. White, 1852.

vb.—*Neshen*.

l. 15909 (Stratmann).

c. 1210. *The Wohunge of ure Lauerd*, in Spec. E. Eng., ed.
Morris.

adj.—for theñne iþi burð tid in al þe burh of
belleem ne fant tu hus lewe þer þine *nesche*
childes limes iñne mihte reste.

Pt. I. p. 124, l. 5.

- c. 1225. *Owl and Nightingale* [? Dorsetshire], ed. Stratmann, 1868.

adj.—*Nesche* and *softe*.

l. 1546.

- c. 1270. *Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., vol. 49.
In Glossary—*Nessche*, *adv.* softly.

Then Paul
saw men and
women with
much meat
lying before
them, which
they were
not able to
eat.

Aftur þis . he sayð at ene
Men . and . wymmnen, moni and lene ;
Lene þei weore., wiþ-ouren flesche,
þei soffred harde . and noþing *nessche* ;
Much lay bi-foren hem . of Mete
þat hem deynet not . of to ete.

Append. II., The XI. Pains of Hell, p. 227, l. 166.

- c. 1280. The *Lay* of HAVELOK THE DANE [Lincolnshire],
ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 4, 1868.

adj.—Godrich rises, and wounds Havelok in the shoulder :
And woundede him rith in þe flesh,
þat tendre was, and swiþe *nesh*.

p. 79, l. 2743.

- c. 1298. ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S *Chronicle*, ed. T. Hearne,
2 vols., Oxford, 1724 ; (and repr. 1810).

adv.—*Nesselyche*, nicely.—

(Index—Mold the good Queen, K. Henry the first's wife,
. . . daughter of Malcolm King of Scotland) :
þo caste þys gode Mold ðre mantel of anon,
And gurde aboute ðre mýddel a naýre lýnne ssete,
And wess þe mýsseles vet echone, ar heo lete,
And wýpede ðs *nesselyche*, & custe ðs wel suete.

p. 435, l. 9.

- bef. 1300. *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter* [Northum-
berland], ed. Stevenson, 1843.

Past. part.—*Nesched*.

54, 22 (Stratmann).

- c. 1300. *English Metrical Homilies*, ed. Small. 1862.

adj.—Fleys es brokel als wax and *neys*.

p. 154 ; quoted in Cath. Anglicum.

- c. 1300. *King Alisaunder* in Metrical Romances, ed. Weber,
3 vols., Edinb. 1810.

adv. phr.—Names of planetis they beon ¹y-note,
Some beon cold, and some beon hote,
By heom mon hath theo ²saying on
To lond, to water, to wyn, to corn ;
And alle chaunce, *nessche* and *hard*,
Knoweth by heom ³wol Y ⁴gred.

B 1, l. 63.

¹Noted, called. ²Signs, *i.e.* predictions. ³Well. ⁴Declare.

adj.—Theo sunne ariseth, and fallith the dewyng ;
Theo *nessche* clay hit makith clyng.

B 1, l. 915.

- c. 1320. *Arthur and Merlin*, Edinb. 1838.

sb. *Nesse* = good fortune—

In *nesse*, in hard, y pray the nowē,
In al stedes thou him avowe. p. 110 (Halliwell).

1325. *Early English Allit. Poems* [West Midland], ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., vol. I.

adv. phr.—*Nesch oþer harde*—

Queþer-so-euer he dele *nesch oþer harde*,
He laueþ hys gyste¹ as water of dyche.
¹gyttes (?). The Pearl, l. 605.

- c. 1330. WILL. DE SHOREHAM, *Religious Poems* [Kent], ed. Wright, 1849.

adj.—*Nesche*.

146 (Stratmann).

1330. ROBERT DE BRUNNE, *Chronicle*.

adv. phr.—Thorge mountayn and more, the Bascles ge ther
weie
Our *nesche and hard* thei fore and did the Walsch
men deie.

Quoted in Carr's Craven Glossary,
2nd edit. 1228.

A letter this fol toke ; bad him, *for nesch or hard*.
Thereon suld no man loke, but only Sir Edward.
p. 220 ; quoted in Miss Baker's Northants
Glossary.

1340. DAN MICHEL OF NORTHGATE, *Ayenbite of Inwyte, or, Remorse of Conscience* [Kent], ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., vol. 23, 1866.

v. pres.—*Nhessep* = makes soft—

þerne gardyn zette þe greate gardyner | þet is
god þe uader | huanne he *nhessep* þe herte |
and makeþ zuete | and trefable | ase wex ymered.

p. 94.

adj.—*Nessse* = soft—

Riþhuolnesse is *propre liche* | þet me deþ be
dome riþtuol and trewe | ne to *nessse* ne to hard.

p. 153.

sb.—*Nesshede* = delicacy, softness—

and of alle zofthede | and *nesshede* | cloþinge
habbeþ an.

p. 267.

- c. 1340. R. ROLLE DE HAMPOLE, *Prick of Conscience* [Yorkshire], ed. R. Morris, 1863.

adj.—þe saule es mare tender and *nesshe*
þan es þe body with þe flesshe.

l. 3110 ; quoted in *Catholicon Anglicum*.

- c. 1350. *William of Palerne* (otherwise *William and the Werewolf*), ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. vol. 1, 1867.

adv. phr.—nis he holly at my hest · in hard & in nesche ?
l. 495

I wol here-after witerly¹ · wip-oute more striue,
wirche holly mi hertes wille · to harde & to nesche.
¹plainly, certainly, &c. l. 534.

1366. SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILE, *Voiage and Travaile* [Midland], ed. from edit. of 1725, by J. O. Halliwell, 1839.

adj.—*Nesche* is quoted by Stratmann, from p. 303; but this should probably be *nessche*, as quoted in *Prompt. Parv.* from some edition, p. 368—

And the hard erthe and the rocke abyden mountaynes,
whan the soft erthe, and tendre, wax *nessche* throghe
the water, and felle, and becamen valeyas.

- ? 1370. *Castle off Loue*, ed. R. F. Weymouth, for Philol. Soc.

adj.—*Nesh*. l. 1092 (Stratmann).

- c. 1380. *Sir Ferumbras*, in English Charlemagne Romances, ed. S. J. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 34, 1879.

adv. phr.—alle panne assentede at *nessche* & hard. l. 3500.

By pat were Sarazyns stozen¹ vp all frechs², And
were come inward at hard & neychs.

¹climbed. ²fresh, new, l. 5188.

- c. 1382— } WYCLIF, *The Holy Bible in the Earliest English*
1388. } *Versions*, ed. Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden, 4 vols., Oxford, 1850 (with a Glossary).

Glossary.—*neische*, *neshe*, *nesshe*, *adj.* soft, delicate.

E = Earlier Version. L = Later Version.

E.—*Neshe* wax and liȝt, &c. L.—*Neische* wax, &c.

Prefatory Epistles, cap. iii., p. 63.

L.—God hath maad *neische* myn herte. Job. xxiii. 16.

E.—A *nesshe* answeere breketh wrathe. Prov. xv. 1.

1387. JOHN OF TREVISA, tr. of *Higden's Polychronicon* (Rolls Series).

adj.—Describes Ireland as—“*nesche*, reyny, and wyndy”
[mollis, pluviosa, ventosa].

l. 333; quoted in *Cath. Ang.*

sb.—Also quoted without reference *ibid.*—"Mars schal take algate þe *neische* and þe softnes of saturne."

Way in *Prompt. Parv.* quotes from TREVISA'S *Version o Vegecius*, Roy. MS. 8 A. xii. :—

v.—*nasshe* = to make effeminate—"nasshe the hartes of warriours to lustes, thenne hardenne theim to fighte."

1393. GOWER'S *Confessio Amantis*.

adj.—He was to *nesshe*, and she to *harde*.

Bk. v. ; quoted in Miss Baker's Northants Glossary.

15th cent. *Court of Love* ; a late poem (not by Chaucer) first printed with Chaucer's works, 1561 (compiled by Jhon Lidgate).

adj.—It semeth for loue his harte is tender *nesshe*.

Fol. cccliij., col. 1.

In the *Aldine edit.* of Chaucer's works, 6 vols. 8vo., London, W. Pickering, 1845, the line reads—

It seemeth for love his herte is tender and *neshe*.

vol. vi., p. 165, l. 1092.

15th cent. *Latin and English Vocab.*, No. xv. Wright's Vocab., 2nd edit., 1874.

adj.—Mollis, an^{ce} *neshe*.

col. 596, l. 29.

Tener, [an^{ce} *tendere* or *neshe*].

col. 615, l. 40.

c. 1420. *The Seuyn Sages, in Metrical Romances* ; ed. Weber, 1810.

adj.—The child was keped *tendre*, and *nessche* [= soft].

vol. iii., ver. 732.

1440. *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ed. Albert Way, Camd. Soc., 1843, 1853, and 1865.

Neschyn' or make *nesche*.⁴ Mollifico.

⁴Molliculus, *neisshe*, or *softe*. Mollicia, *softenesse*, or *neisshe*. Molleo, to be *nesshe*.

c. 1440. *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*, ed. from R. Thornton's MS. by G. G. Perry, E.E.T.S., v. 26, 1867.

Nesche, *vb.* to melt, soften, grow soft :—

Now es na herte sa herde þat it na moghte *nesche* and lufe swylke a Godd with all his myghte. p. 31.

c. 1450 *Towneley Mysteries* [Yorkshire], in Eng. Miracle or Plays or Mysteries, ed. W. Marriott, 1838.

c. 1460. *adj.*—*Nesh*. (? p.) 128 (Stratmann).

There is a quotation in the Almondbury and Huddersfield Glossary containing the word in the same spelling.

- 1463-83. *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* (by Sir Humphrey Gilbert), E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 8.

adv. phr.—For-gete not þe towell, noþer for *hard ne nessche*.

Section or Tract ix., l. 241.

- Ante
1500. *The Babees Book*: Manners and Meals in Olden Time, E.E.T.S., vol. 32.

White herrings fresh—

adj.—looke he be white by þe boon | þe ¹roughe white &
²nesche. p. 161, l. 644.

¹roe.

²tender.

After a bath—

þen lett hym go to bed | but looke it be soote & ¹nesche.

¹soft.

p. 183, l. 986.

1553. SIR THOMAS WILSON, *Art of Retorique*.

sb.—To be born of woman declares weakness of spirit, *neshenes* of body, and fickleness of mind.

Rev. W. Gaskell, *Lect. Lanc. Dialect*,
April, 1854, p. 20.

1585. *Choise of Change*, in *Cens. Lit.* ix.

adj.—Of cheese,—he saith it is too hard; he saith it is too
neshe.

(? p.) 436; quoted by Nares; and T.
Wright, *Dict. Obs. and Prov.*
English.

1597. J. BOSSEWELL, *Works of Armorie*; London, printed
by Henrie Ballard dwelling without Temple-
barre the signe of the Beare.

adj.—And although a droppe [of water] be most *neshe*, yet by
oft falling it pierceth that thing, that is right hard.

The *Armorie of Honor*, B. 2, fol. 89/1.

- 1606-16. BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER, *Works*.

adj.— . . . , This but sweats thee
Like a *neshe* nag.

Bonduca; quoted in Miss Baker's *Northants*
Glossary, without further reference.

Ante

1649. BP. PERCY'S *Folio MS.*, vol. i., p. 141, ed. Hales and Furnivall.*adj.*—"God save the Queene of England," he said,"for her blood is verrey *neshe*,

as neere vnto her I am

as a colloppe shorne from the flesh."

King James and Browne, l. 119; quoted
by Miss Jackson, Shropshire Word-
book.

OSS OR AWSE.

This word, in English, seems to be almost wholly confined to modern dialectal speech. Like *clem*, it has a wide range or area of usage.

A.—MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE.

I. FROM GLOSSARIES OR PRINTED BOOKS.

i. A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES

in which the verb and its derivatives are found.

No.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR AND DATE.	WORDS AND PARTS OF SPEECH.
1	Various dialects ..	T. Wright, 1857	Ause and oss, <i>v.</i>
2	North of England.	Rev. J. Hutton, 1781 ..	Oss, <i>v.</i>
3	North Country ..	John Ray, 1674	Osse, <i>v.</i>
4	Ditto ..	Grose and Pegge, 1839.	Oss, <i>v.</i>
	Yorkshire:—		
5	Craven	Rev. W. Carr, 1828 ..	Osse, <i>v.</i>
6	Leeds	C. C. Robinson, 1862 ..	Oss, <i>v.</i>
7	Almondbury and Huddersfield..	Rev. A. Easther, ed. by Rev. T. Lees, 1883	do. <i>v.</i>
8	Hallamshire (Sheffield Dist.)	Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1829	do. <i>v.</i>
9	Cumberland and Westmorland	Poems, Songs, and Ballads, 1839	do. <i>v.</i>
10	Cumberland	Robert Ferguson, 1873	do. <i>v.</i>
11	Lancashire	Rev. R. Garnett, <i>Philol.</i> <i>Essays</i> , p. 166, 1859..	do. <i>v.</i>
12	Ditto	Nodal and Milner, 1875	Awse and Oss, <i>v.</i>
13	Ditto (Lonsdale)	R. B. Peacock, in <i>Phil.</i> <i>Soc. Trans.</i> , 1867	Oss, <i>v.</i>
14	Ditto (South) ..	J. Collier, 6th ed., 1757.	do. <i>v.</i> ; Ossing, <i>part.</i>
15	Ditto (do.) ..	Sam. Bamford, 1854 ..	Awse, <i>v.</i> ; Awsin, <i>part.</i>
16	Ditto (do.) ..	J. A. Picton: <i>Notes on</i> <i>S. Lanc. Dialect</i> , 1865	do. or Oss, <i>v.</i>
17	Cheshire	N. Bailey, 1749	Osse, <i>v.</i>
18	Ditto	John Ash (quotes Bailey), 1775	do. <i>v.</i>
19	Ditto	R. Wilbraham, 2nd ed., 1826	Oss or Osse, <i>v.</i>
20	Ditto	Holloway (quotes Bailey), 1839	do. Osse, <i>v.</i>

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(continued).

No.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR AND DATE.	WORDS AND PARTS OF SPEECH.
21	Cheshire	T. Wright, 1857	Ossing, <i>verbal n.</i>
22	Ditto	H. Wedgwood, 1872 ..	Oss, <i>v.</i>
23	Ditto	J. O. Halliwell, ed. 1874	do. <i>v.</i>
24	Ditto	Col. Egerton Leigh, 1877	do. <i>v.</i>
25	Ditto	Robert Holland, 1886..	do. <i>v.</i>
	Derbyshire:—		
26	High Peak Dist.	The Writer (T. Hallam), <i>in MS.</i>	do. <i>v.</i>
27	Bakewell Dist...	J. Sleigh, in <i>Reliquary</i> for January, 1865	"oss <i>vel</i> hoss" [<i>h</i> is not used]
28	Shropshire	T. Wright, 1857	Oss, <i>v.</i>
29	Ditto	Hereford. and Shrop. Provincialisms in <i>Wellington Journal</i> , Feb. 5, 1876	do. <i>v.</i>
30	Ditto	Miss G. F. Jackson, 1881	Ause and Oss, <i>v.</i> ; Ossment, <i>sb.</i>
31	Staffordshire	C. H. Poole, 1880	Oss, <i>v.</i>
32	Leicestershire	T. Wright, 1857	Aust, ost, <i>v.</i>
33	Ditto	A. B. Evans, D.D., and his son S. Evans, LL.D., 1881	do. <i>v.</i>
34	Northamptonshire	T. Sternberg, 1851....	Ost, <i>v.</i>
35	Warwickshire	T. Wright, 1857	Aust, <i>v.</i>
36	Worcestershire ..	Mrs. E. L. Chamberlain, 1882	Oss, <i>v.</i>
37	Herefordshire	G. Cornwall Lewis, 1839	To oss at, <i>v.</i>
38	Ditto	Hereford. and Shrop. Provincialisms in <i>Wellington Journal</i> , Feb. 5, 1876	Oss, <i>v.</i>
39	Radnorshire	Rev. W. E. T. Morgan, 1881	do. <i>v.</i>

ii. DEFINITIONS OR SENSES, AND ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES.

I give these in nine sub-divisions. A considerable variety of words, phrases, and sentences is used in these definitions. The numbers appended to definitions, or prefixed to illustrative sentences, refer to the glossaries in the foregoing table in which each such definition and sentence is found.

- a. To try, 1, 4, 9, 10, 13, 16, 25, 26; to attempt, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39; to endeavour, 4; to essay, 9, 10;

to aim at, 3, 17, 20, 22; to offer, 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 23, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 38; to offer to do, 3, 17, 18, 20, 22; to offer to do a thing, 25; to set about, 25; to set about anything, 9, 13, 19, 23; to set about a thing, 10; to set about doing, 37; to be setting out, 19, 23; to show a sign of doing, 37, applied to inanimate as well as animate objects.

5. "I'll neer *osse* to doot;" *i.e.* I will never attempt it.
6. "He nivver *osses* to du owt 'at I sehr him tul—nivver."
7. "Au sall ne'er *oss*" = I shall never attempt.

On the occasion when Sir John Ramsden came of age, he gave several public dinners, and on passing between Longley Hall and Huddersfield, he encountered some mill hands, lads and lasses. A lad taps a lass on the shoulder, and she says, 'Drop it, lad, Au want none o thi bother.' The lad, 'Au'm noan baan to mell on thee.' 'Well, but tha were *ossin*.' Sir John was much exercised with this, and took it up at the dinner, where he found plenty of his guests able to restore the dialogue to its beauty, and explain its meaning.

8. "He *ossed* but failed."

12. (1) *s.v.* Awse:—

A mon 'at plays a fiddle weel,
Should never *awse* to dee.

Waugh, *Lanc. Songs: Eawr Folk*, 1859.

Come, owd dog, *awse* to shap.

ib. Besom Ben, c. iv. p. 42; 1865.

See also *Sense f.*

Aw shakert un' waytud till ten,
Bu' Meary ne'er *awst* to com eawt.

Harland's *Lancashire Lyrics*, p. 187.

- (2) *s.v.* Oss:—

His scrunt wig fell off, on when he *os* t'don it, on
unlucky karron gan it o poo.

Collier, *Works*, p. 52; 1750.

I'r ot heawse in o crack, on leet o' th' owd mon i' th'
fowd, *ossin* t' get o' tit-back.

ibid., p. 57; 1750.

See also *Sense b.*

They'd gether reawnd some choilt wi'mayt,
An' every bit it *ost* to tak
Their little meawths ud oppen too.

Ramsbottom, *Lanc. Rhymes*, p. 67; 1864.

13. "He nivver *osses*" = He never makes the attempt.

16. "Theaw doesn't *oss* furt' do it."
24. "It *osses* to rain." "A covey *ossing* for the turmits," means a covey making for the turnips.
25. "He's owed me ten pound for ever so long, and he ne'er *osses* pay me."
26. Tha dusna *oss* t' do it = try [Dhaa dùz'nu' *oss* t' dóo it.]
27. "He none *osses* at it."
30. 'Er'll never *oss* to püt anythin' in its place as lung as 'er can get through 'em.
36. 'E *ossed* to jump the bruck, but 'e couldna do't; t'warn't likely! Seldom used but when the attempt is unsuccessful.

b. To be about to do, *i.e.*, immediately.

12. I'r ot heawse in o crack, on leet o' th' owd mon i' th' fowd, *ossin'* t' get o' tit-back.

Collier, *Works*, p. 52; 1750.

25. The following conversation actually took place in Rainow Sunday-school:—"Teacher: 'Why did Noah go into the ark?' Scholar: 'Please, teacher, because God was *ossin* for t' drown th' world.'"
26. Aw'm *ossin* t' goo t' Buxton [Au)m *os'si'n* t) gù t) Bùk'stu'n] = I'm about to go to Buxton immediately.
Aw'm *ossin* t'ate my dinner [Au)m *os'si'n* t')ait mi' din'u'r] = I'm about to eat my dinner at once.

c. The manner of "shaping" or "framing" at anything: either—(1), at a particular act or job of work; or (2), at the duties of a new situation or calling.

24. He *osses* well; said of a new servant who promises fairly.
25. "He *osses* badly" would be said of a man who began a job in a clumsy manner.
26. 'Ow does 'e *oss* at it? [Aaw dùz i' *oss* aat i't?]. 'Ow does th' new sarvant mon *oss*? [Aaw dùz th) ni'w saar'vu'nt m:aun *oss*?].
28. A new servant is said to *oss* (promise) well.
30. *vb.* I think the chap knows his work, he *osses* pretty well.
- sb.* I doubt 'e'll never do no good—I dunna like 'is *ossment*.

d. To design, 2; to intend, 2; to intend to do, 3, 17, 20, 22.

e. To dare, 3, 32, 33, 35, 37; to venture, 11.

37. He does not *oss* [= dare] to do it.

- f. To begin, 1, 13, 14, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 38—in this sense, I think, the word is generally in the imperative; to begin to do, 37.

12. Come, owd dog, *awse* to shap.

Waugh, *Besom Ben*, c. iv. p. 42; 1865.

26. Now, *oss*! [Naaw, oss].

27. *Oss* at it, mon, *i.e.* begin.

- g. To make free with:—3, 5, 21, 23, 24, 30, have the Cheshire proverb, "*Ossing* comes to bossing;" 3, 5, 23, and 30, simply quote the words without comment; 21, T. Wright, has under *oss* (2)—"To make free with. There is a Cheshire proverb, *ossing* comes to bossing (*i.e.*, kissing)." 24, Colonel Egerton Leigh, has—" "*Ossing* comes to bossing;" an old Cheshire proverb, means courting is soon followed by kissing."

- h. To recommend a person to assist you, 19, 23.

- i. To direct. See note below.

NOTE.—Mr. T. Darlington, in his *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, now passing through the press, has senses *a*, *c*, and *i*:—

Oss [os'] *v.n.* and *a*:

a = To attempt: "Ah never *ost* (ossed) at it" [Ah nev-ür ost aat' it].

c = To shape: "Ye dunna *oss* to do it" = You don't shape. This is not exactly the same as "to attempt," though a shade of the same meaning.

i = To direct: "Ah'll *oss* yō to a good heifer" [Ah]l os' yū tū ū gūd ef-ür].

II. DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES,

1877 to 1883.

This word is constantly used in the dialects of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. See the first two paragraphs in NESH A. II. pp. 43, 44, DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES.

N.B.—The letters *a*, *b*, *c*, &c., prefixed to the meanings, or illustrative sentences, refer to the respective Senses before given, in I. ii.

YORKSHIRE: MARSDEN, April, 1878:

a. Oss [oss], to try.

LANCASHIRE : GOOSNARGH, June, 1883 :

- a. Now, John, *oss* likely [Naaw, J:aun, *oss* lahy'kli'] = apply yourself to the task in a workmanlike manner.

Ditto ECCLES, June, 1883 :

- b. Eh, Mary, w'ereta for? O'm *ossin'* t' goo t' Eccles = [Ai', Mae'ri', weertu' f:aur? O)m *ossi'n* t)goo t) Ek'lz].

CHESHIRE : FARNDON, Dec., 1882 :

- a. Yō dunna *oss* t'go at it [yoa dūn'u' *oss* t) goa aat') i't].

DERBYSHIRE : ASHFORD, April, 1875 :

- c. 'Ae dun they *oss*? [Ae' dūn dhai *oss*] = How do they *shape*?
'Ae dus that chap *oss* at 'is work [Ae' dūz dhaat chaap *oss* u't i'z wuork?] *i.e.* frame to work skilfully or unskilfully.

Ditto DORE, March, 1883 :

- a. Aw sh'l ne'er *oss* [au shl n:ee'ūr *oss*].

Ditto CHESTERFIELD, May, 1883 :

- a. Tha doesn't *oss* to do it [Dhaa dūznt *oss* tu' dōo i't].

Ditto SPITE WINTER, in ASHOVER parish, May, 1883 :

- a. *Oss* [*oss*] = to try.

Ditto ASHOVER, May, 1883 :

- a. or c. 'Aa tha *osses*! [Aa dhaa *oss*·u'z!] = How thou *osses*!

Ditto ALFRETON, Dec., 1883 :

- a. or c. *Oss* as yu mean to do it [*Oss* u'z yu' mee'n tu' dōo i't].

SHROPSHIRE, WELLINGTON, Dec., 1881 :

- a. *Oss* [*oss*], to try.
Yū wunna *oss* to do it [yu' wūn'u' *oss* tu' dōō i't].

Ditto UPTON MAGNA, Jan., 1882 :

- a. *Oss* [*oss*], to try.
h. To recommend a person to a place—I *ossed* 'er to a place [Uy ost u'r tōō u' pl'ai:ss].

Ditto MUCH WENLOCK, Sept., 1880 :

- a. *Oss* [*oss*], to try.

STAFFORDSHIRE : MIDDLE HILLS, north of LEEK, May 1880 :

- a. *Oss* [*oss*] = to try.

STAFFORDSHIRE: FROGHALL, Oct., 1877:

a. *Oss* [oss] = to try.

Ditto OAKAMoor, April, 1882:

a. *Oss* [oss] = to try.

Ditto LONGPORT, Oct., 1877:

a. Tha doesner *oss* for do it [Dhaa dùz·nu'r *oss* fu'r dóo [or di'öö] i't].

WORCESTERSHIRE: BEWDLEY, Oct., 1880:

a. You dunna *oss* to do it [yoo dùn·u' *oss* tu' doo i't].

Ditto TENBURY, Oct., 1880:

a. *Oss* [oss] = to try.

Oss for bed [oss fu'r b:æd] = set about going to bed.

FLINTSHIRE (detached): BETTISFIELD, June, 1882:

a. Yo dunna *oss* to do it [yoo dùn·u' *oss* tu' dóo it].

Ditto HANMER, Aug., 1882:

h. I *ossed* (or *osst*) 'im to that place [Uy *ost* i'm tu' dhaat plai'ss], i.e. recommended him to it.

B.—ETYMOLOGY.

- i. Some years ago it was thought by various writers that *oss* or *awse* was derived from the Welsh *osio*, to offer to do, to essay.

1. Rev. (now Prof.) Skeat, in Ray's *North Country Words*, E.D.S. Repr. Gloss. 1874. Note added in brackets s.v. *osse*—"Welsh *osio*, to offer to do, to essay, to dare."
2. Rev. Richard Garnett's *Philological Essays*, collected and reprinted 1859, p. 166—" [From] Welsh *osi*, to attempt, venture; - - - - - *oss*, Lancash."
3. R. B. Peacock's *Lancash. [Lonsdale] Glossary*, Philol. Soc. Trans. Suppt., 1867—" *oss*, v.i. and t., to try, begin, attempt, or set about anything. W[elsh] *osi*, to offer to do, to attempt."
4. J. A. [now Sir J. A.] Picton's *Notes on the South Lancashire Dialect*, 1865, p. 10: "*Awse*, or *oss*, to try, to attempt. W[elsh] *osi*."

- ii. It is now, however, considered as undoubted by various eminent philologists that Welsh *osio* was derived from English *oss*, instead of vice versâ.

1. The following paragraph was courteously written for this article by Professor Skeat, June 15, 1887:—"I have now no doubt that W. *osio* was merely borrowed from Middle-English, and that the Middle-English word was merely borrowed from the French *oser*, to dare, which occurs as early as the eleventh century in the *Chanson de Roland*, l. 1782. This French *oser* (like the Span. *osar*, Ital. *osare*) corresponds to a theoretical Low Latin verb *ausare*, regularly formed from the stem *aus-* which appears in *ausus*, pp. of Lat. *audere*, to dare. This explanation is given by Littré and Scheler, and universally accepted by French philologists. It is highly important to observe that Old French not only possessed the verb *oser*, but the adjective *os*, signifying 'audacious,' which is nothing but a French spelling of the Latin *ausus*. This adjective *os* also occurs in the *Chanson de Roland*, l. 2292. We can thus formally establish a connection with the English word; for this very same adjective *os* occurs in Anglo-French also, with the same sense of 'audacious,' in the *Life of Edward the Confessor*, ed. Luard, l. 4199, a poem of the twelfth century. We thus learn that the word was already known in England in the twelfth century, and we cannot doubt that it was borrowed by English from this Anglo-French source. I believe that numerous words of this sort drifted into Welsh chiefly in the fourteenth century, subsequently to the conquest of Wales by Edward I."

2. I also insert a short paragraph kindly written by Prof. Rhys, of Oxford, August 9, 1887:—"It [Welsh *osio*] may be derived so far as phonology goes either from French or from English, but not from Latin. I formerly thought it must be from French, but that was because, probably, I was not aware that it existed as an English word. I should now presume it was from English; in any case there is no Welsh word to explain it, as I cannot regard Welsh *os* 'if' as offering any explanation of the meaning."

NOTE.—My original article on this word was printed in the *Manchester City News*, December 31, 1881; the space occupied being about *three-eighths* that of the present article. Early in January, 1882, I sent copies to a number of members of the English Dialect Society, and likewise to other correspondents; and, in response, received about twenty-seven courteous and appreciative acknowledgments.

3. One of these was from Dr. J. A. H. Murray. dated January 11, 1882,* in which he stated that the evidence, so far as known to him, tends to show that Welsh *osio* was adopted from English *oss*, and not vice versa.
4. I conclude by quoting part of Hensleigh Wedgwood's paragraph from his *Dict. of English Etymology*, 2nd edit., 1872:—To *Oss*. To offer to do, to aim at, to intend to do. B[ailey], Fr[ench] *oser*, to dare. adventure, be so bold as to do a thing; Prov[ençal] *ausar*, It[alian] *ausare*, *osare*. Venet[ian] *ossare*, from Lat. *audere*, *ausum*, to dare. The difficulty in this derivation is that *oss* belongs so completely to the popular part of the language that it is very unlikely to have had a Fr. derivation. W[elsh] *osio*, to offer to do, is undoubtedly the same word, but we are unable to say whether it is borrowed from E. *oss* or vice versa.

C.—EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE.

i. I have only been able to obtain *five* Early English quotations containing forms of *oss*, viz.: three *verbal forms* and two *substantives*, which are given below. I came across the *first* in Early Eng. Allit. Poems some time ago; and the *third*—"Quat and has thou *ossed*, &c."—was quoted in the Glossary to this volume, *s.v.* *Ossed*; but as from "King Alexander" instead of "Alexander" simply.

Prof. Skeat has recently edited this latter work for the E.E.T.S., and has called it the "Wars of Alexander," to distinguish it from *three* other Poems ALL called "Alexander." He obligingly sent me the *four* quotations from this, with his annotations, August 3, 1887; and added—

"*Oss* [in these quotations] means to offer, proffer, put forward, &c.; and secondarily, to show, to prophesy. It's all one in spite of great change in sense."

* This letter has unfortunately got mislaid or lost.

ii. QUOTATIONS.

1325. *Early English Allit. Poems* [West Midland], ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., vol. I.

v. past. t.—*Ossed* = showed—

Jonah—

All this mischief
is caused by me,
therefore cast me
overboard.

' Alle þis meschef for me is made at þys tyme,
For I haf greued my god & gulty am founden ;
Forþy bereȝ me to þe borde, and baþeþ¹ me þer-oute,
Er gete ȝe no happe, I hope for soþe.'

He proves to
them that he was
guilty.

He *ossed* hym by vnnyngeȝ þat þay vnder-nomen,
þat he watȝ flawen fro þe face of frelych dryȝtyn.

l. 213.

¹baþe.

c 1400. *Wars of Alexander*, ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Extra Series, No. 47, 1886.

Alexander consults the oracle of Apollo, who returns an answer; after which we read—

(1) *vb.*—line 2263:

" Thus ansvars thaim thaire ald gode, and
osses on this wyse ;"

Where the word *osses* seems to mean shows or
prophesies.

(2) *vb.*—l. 2307 :

" Quat, and has thou *ossed* to Alexander
this ayndain wirdes ?"

i.e. What, and hast thou shown to Alexander
these favourable (?) destinies ?

(3) *sb.*—l. 868 :

" I did bot my deuire to drepe him, me
thinke,
For it awe him noght sa openly slike *ossing*
to make ;"

i.e. I only did my duty to kill him, methinks,
For he ought not so openly to make such
an attempt.

(4) *sb.*—l. 732 :

" Vnbehalde the wele on ilk halfe, and have
a gud eȝe,
Les on thine ane here-afterward thine
ossingis liȝt ;"

i.e. Look round thee well on every side, and
take good care,
Lest on thyself alone, hereafter, thy
prophecies (or thy attempts) alight.

A D D E N D A .

DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES,
1887.

C L E M .

YORKSHIRE, BARNSLEY, April, 1887 :

Clammed to deeäth [klaamd tu' d:eeütl].

Ditto KEIGHLEY, May, 1887 :

Clam to deeäth [tlaam tu' d:eeüth].

N.B.—The older form is said to be *pin*.

Storved to deeäth [st:aavd tu' d:eeüth] = very cold.

Ditto HAWORTH, May, 1887 :

Clammed to deeäth [tlaamd tu' d:eeüth].

DERBYSHIRE, CHURCH GREASLEY, Dec., 1886 :

He's *clammed* to death [aey]z tlaamd t' daeth].

STAFFORDSHIRE, CODSALL, Dec., 1886 :

Clemmed to death [klaemd tu' daeth].

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, FINNINGLEY, Aug., 1886 :

Nearly *clammed* to death [neeürli' tlaamd tu' daeth];
some say—*Clammed* to deeäd [tlaamd tu' deeüd].

Ditto BAWTRY, Aug., 1886 :

Clam [tlaam'].

LEICESTERSHIRE, ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH, Dec., 1886 :

Half *clammed* [:aif tlaamd].

Ditto UPTON, 3½ miles S.W. of MARKET
BOSWORTH, Dec., 1886 :

He's welly (nearly) *clammed* [ey]z wael-i' tlaamd].

WARWICKSHIRE, ATHERSTONE, Dec., 1886 :

Clammed to death [tlaamd tu' daeth].

LAKE = TO PLAY.

YORKSHIRE, BARNSLEY, April, 1887 :

Lake [lai'k].

Ditto BIRKENSHAW (or DUDLEY HILL), near
Bradford, April, 1887 :

Lake [l:æŭk].

Ditto KEIGHLEY, May, 1887 :

We s'l be *lakin'* [Wěě sl běě l:ēŭki'n].

Ditto CALVERLEY, near Leeds, June 1, 1887 :

I'm *lakin'* [au)m l:ēŭki'n].

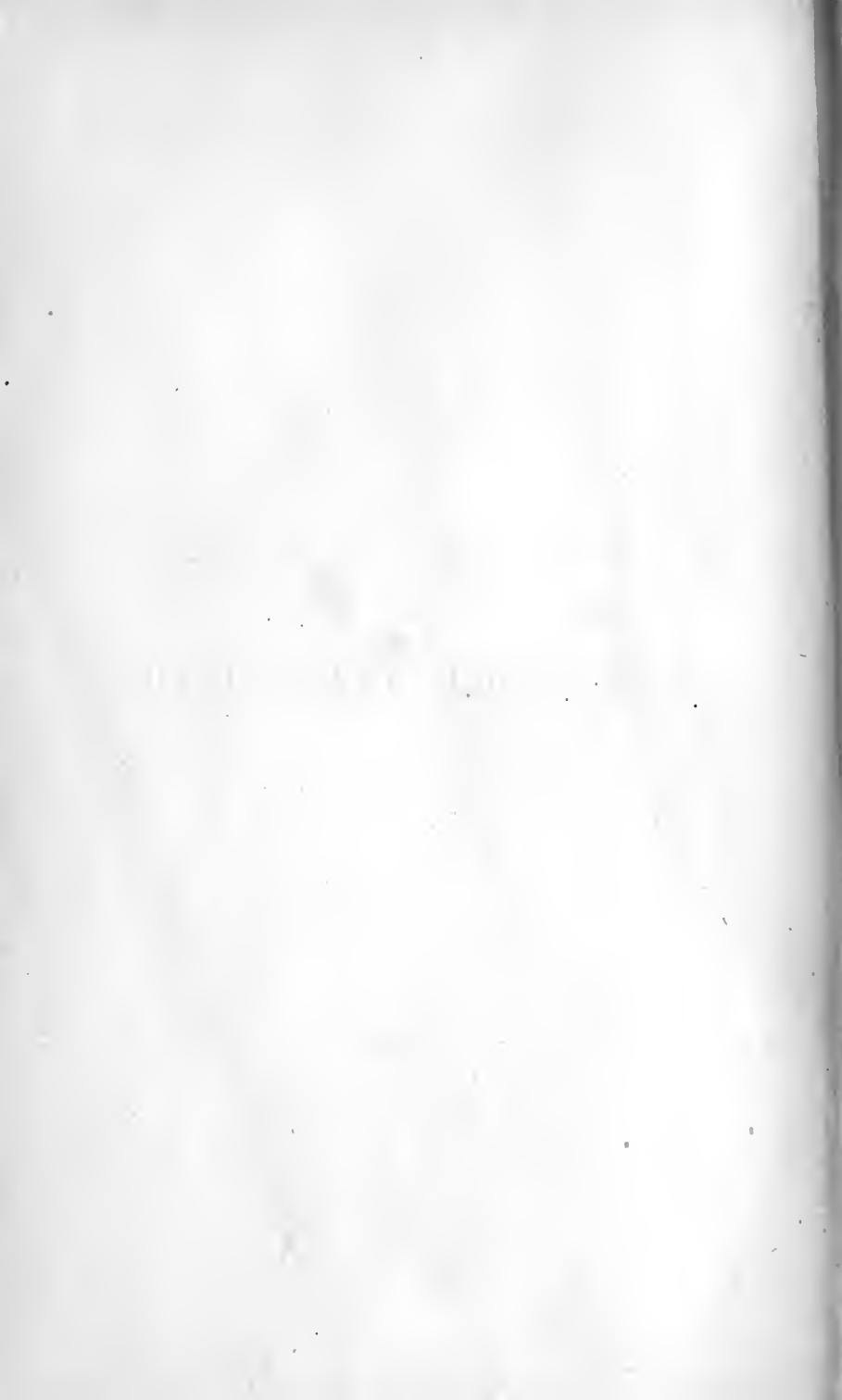
At Easter and Whitsuntide of the present year (1887), I visited the following places in S.W. Yorkshire :—

Easter, April 9th to 12th.—Thorne, Barnsley, Wakefield, Birkenshaw, Bradford, and Halifax ;

Whitsuntide, May 28th to June 1st.—Halifax, Keighley, Haworth, Skipton, Ribbleshead, Giggleswick, Settle, Saltaire, and Calverley ;

and at most of these places I found the word *lake* was regularly used in dialectal speech to the exclusion of *play*.

ANGLO-FRENCH VOWEL-SOUNDS.



SERIES **D.**
MISCELLANEOUS.

A WORD-LIST
ILLUSTRATING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
MODERN ENGLISH
WITH
ANGLO-FRENCH VOWEL-SOUNDS.

BY
B. M. SKEAT.

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PREFACE.

THE following lists of words are taken from a collection made by my father under the title of "English Words found in Anglo-French." In his preface to this work, it is stated that the modern spelling of English words, whether of native origin, or borrowed from the French, is mainly due to French usage. The lists given below are an attempt to show that the modern pronunciation of the vowels in English words borrowed from the French has a certain correspondence with that of the Norman French, and, with few exceptions, follows regular laws. Even with regard to these exceptions, it is possible that one who had studied Phonology carefully might find them due to certain influences, such as a nasal or liquid following, which have modified the original pronunciation. To show how the Old French vowel has passed into the modern English sound, I have given side by side the Anglo-French word, the Middle English form, and the Modern English, together with the *approximate* pronunciation of the latter. The Phonetic notation is that employed by Mr. Sweet in his "History of English Sounds." The lists are arranged as far as possible in the order of the French vowel and the consonant following it. The lines mark off a difference in the English pronunciation. The Alphabetical Index at the end has been added to facilitate reference to the tables. The greater part of this was written out for me by a friend.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.—VOWELS.

The following is a summary of the results obtained from the examples given in this collection.

1. **a** (short). The French *ă* corresponds to the English *æ* (*æ*) as :

F. *abbeye*, M.E. *abbeye*, E. *abbey* (*æbi*) : *except* when followed by *l, m, n, r, s*.

- al. These follow the above rule, except :

F. *alblastre*, M.E. *alblast*, E. *arblast* (*aarblast*), and 3 others (p. 2).

F. *alter*, M.E. *alter*, E. *altar* (*ðòltər*) and 5 others.

F. *malencolye*, M.E. *malencolie*, E. *melancholy* (*meləncoli*). This word has been purposely altered in consequence of a knowledge of the Greek spelling.

- am. These follow the above rule, except :

F. *ensample*, M.E. *ensample*, E. *sample* (*saampəl*).

- an. These follow the above rule, except :

F. *avancer*, M.E. *avancen*,¹ E. *advance* (*ædvaans*), and 10 others (p. 3).

F. *danter*, M.E. *danten*, E. *daunt* (*dòont*), and 2 others.

F. *manace*, M.E. *manace*, E. *menace* (*menes*). The same change took place in French, even in the 12th century (*Littré*).

- ar. These follow the above rule, except :

F. *apparaill*, M.E. *aparail*, E. *apparel* (*æpærel*), and 14 others (p. 4).

F. *agard*, M.E. *agard*, E. *award* (*əwòdd*)² and 4 others (p. 5).

F. *garenne*, M.E. *warenn*, E. *warren* (*wòren*)² and 2 others.

F. *desclarer*, M.E. *declaren*, E. *declare* (*dicléər*), and 3 others.

F. *darce*, M.E. *darce*, E. *dace* (*déis*).

¹ As it is hardly possible to give all the variations of the M.E. spelling, a typical form, resembling the French, has been chosen. But the spelling *aun* for *an* is extremely common, both in French and English.—W.W.S.

² The sound of *ò* or *òò* is due to the preceding *w*; see p. viii. note 2.—W.W.S.

as. These follow the above rule, except :

F. basme, M.E. basme, E. balm (baam), and 5 others.

2. a (long). The French ā corresponds to the English ā (éi), as :

F. fable, M.E. fable, E. fable (féibl), p. 6.

3. e (short). The French ě usually corresponds to the English ě (e), as :

F. treble, M.E. treble, E. treble (trebl), p. 8.

er will be treated of separately below.

Exceptions : (a) The French ě sometimes becomes the English ĭ.

F. abregger, M.E. abreggen, E. abridge (əbrij), p. 8.

F. pelerin, M.E. pilgrim, E. pilgrim (pilgrim).

F. amenuser, M.E. amenusen, E. minish (minish) and 3 others, p. 10.

F. trepet, M.E. trevet, E. trivet (trivet).

F. descord, M.E. discord, E. discord (discòdd), and 5 others, p. 11.

(b) The French ě sometimes (before *m* and *n*) becomes the English ǣ (æ).

F. emboscher, M.E. enbuschen, E. ambush (æmbush), p. 9.

F. estandard, M.E. standard, E. standard (stændæd).

F. renc, M.E. renk, E. rank (rænk).

(c) Note also French ě becoming Eng. ee (ii) and ā (éi).

F. appel, M.E. apel, apeel, E. appeal (əpiil), p. 8.¹

F. nette, M.E. net (?), E. neat (niit), p. 11.

F. arenger, M.E. arengen, E. arrange (əréinj), p. 10.

F. abesser, M.E. abessen, E. abase (əbéis), p. 11.

4. e (long). The French ē corresponds to the English ē (ii), as :

F. decre, M.E. decree, E. decree (decrii), p. 12.

Except F. arrener, M.E. arenen, arainen, E. arraign (əréin), and 5 others, p. 13.

F. leonesse, M.E. leonesse, E. lioness (laiənes), and 2 others.

¹ This is the clue to the etymology of E. *peel*, a small castle. Just as E. *appeal* answers to F. *appel*, so E. *peel* is from O.F. *pel*, a castle.—W.W.S.

5. **er.** The French *er* corresponds to the English *er* (æə), as :
 F. *herbe*, M.E. *herbe*, E. *herb* (hæb), p. 13.
Exceptions. F. *clerk*, M.E. *clerk*, E. *clerk* (claac), and
 8 others, p. 14.¹
 F. *arere*, M.E. *arere*, E. *arrear* (æriir), and 7 others.
 F. *beril*, M.E. *beril*, E. *beryl* (beril), and 4 others.
 (Note that in these 5 examples *r* is *followed* by short *i*.)
 F. *ferroure*, M.E. *ferroure*, E. *farrier* (færiər).
 F. *querele*, M.E. *querele*, E. *quarrel* (quorəl).²
 F. *frere*, M.E. *frere*, E. *friar* (fraiər).
6. **i (short).** The French *ī* corresponds to the English
ĭ (i), as :
 F. *tribute*, M.E. *tribute*, E. *tribute* (tribyut), p. 15.
Exceptions. F. *tricherye*, M.E. *tricherie*, E. *treachery*
 (trechəri).
 F. *cimiterie*, M.E. *cimiterie*, E. *cemetery* (semetəri).
 F. *virgine*, M.E. *virgine*, E. *virgin* (vərjin).
7. **i (long).** The French *ī* corresponds to the English
ī (ai), as :
 F. *affiaunce*, M.E. *affiaunce*, E. *affiance* (əfaiəns), p. 16.
Exceptions. F. *fige*, M.E. *fige*, E. *fig* (fig), p. 17.
 F. *chemise*, M.E. *chemise*, E. *chemise* (shemiiz, shimiiz),
 and 2 others, p. 18.
8. **o (short).** The French *ō* corresponds to the English
ö (o), as :
 F. *obsequies*, M.E. *obsequies*, E. *obsequies* (obsequiz),
 p. 18.
- or** will be treated of separately below.
- Exceptions.* In several cases the French *o* becomes
 Eng. *u* (ə).
 F. *robous*, M.E. *robous*, E. *rubbish* (rəbɪʃ), and 27
 others, p. 20.
 F. *bocher*, M.E. *bocher*, E. *butcher* (bʊtʃər).

¹ See my article on the pronunciation of *er* as *ar* in N. & Q. 6 S. iii. 4.—W.W.S.

² The vowel-change in this word is due to the *w*-sound in the preceding *qu*. Similarly, *war*, *warble*, *warm*, *warn*, *warp* are pronounced (wor, worbl, worm, worn, worp). Similarly, *wo* is sounded as *wu*; as in *word*, *work*, *worm*, *worse*, *wort*.—W.W.S.

Note also F. conseil, M.E. conseil,¹ E. counsel (caunsel), and 6 others.

F. acoster, M.E. acosten, E. accost (æcòðst), p. 21.

9. *or*. The French *or* corresponds to the English *or* (òð), as :
F. divorce, M.E. divorce, E. divorce (divòðs), p. 19.

Exceptions. F. coruner, M.E. coroner, E. coroner (coronər), and 2 others.

F. ajorner, M.E. ajornen, E. adjourn (ædjæn), and 8 others.

F. morine, M.E. moraine, E. murrain (møren).

10. *o* (long). The French *ō* corresponds to the English *o* (óu), as :

F. noble, M.E. noble, E. noble (nóubl), p. 21.

Exceptions. F. bote, M.E. bote, E. boot (buut), and 6 others.

F. clostre, M.E. cloistre, E. cloister (cloistər).

F. trofle, M.E. trofle, truffle, E. trifle (traifl).

11. *u* (short). The French *ü* corresponds to the English *u* (ə), as :

F. subgit, M.E. subget, E. subject (səbject), p. 22.

Exceptions. F. sucre, M.E. sucre, E. sugar (shugər), and 4 others.

F. blund, M.E. blond, E. blonde (blond), and 2 others.

F. cust, coust, M.E. cost, E. cost (còðst).

F. rubain, M.E. ruban, riban, E. ribbon (ribən), and

F. butor, M.E. bitoure, E. bittern (bitæn).

12. *u* (long). The French *ū* corresponds to the English *ū* (uu), as :

F. acru, M.E. acruē, E. accrued (æcruud), p. 24.

In many cases the French *u* becomes the English *ou*,
ow, as :

F. cuard, M.E. couard, E. coward (cauərd), and 22 others.

Exception. F. ruele, M.E. rouel, E. rowel (róuel).

¹ Just as the M.E. *an* often appears as *aun* (p. vi, note 1), so M.E. *on* often appears as *oun*. This is particularly common in the suffix *-ion*, which is constantly spelt *-ioun*.—W.W.S.

DIPHTHONGS.

13. **ai, ay; ae, ao.** The French ai, ay, ae, ao, correspond to the English ai or ay, ao, as :
 F. arayer, M.E. arayen, E. array (əréi), p. 25.
Exceptions. F. alaye, M.E. alaye, E. alloy (əloi), p. 25;
 and E. exploit, p. 26.
 F. kaie, M.E. quay, E. quay (kii), and 2 others.
 F. paisant, E. peasant (pesənt).
 F. taille, M.E. taille, E. tally (tæli); and 1 other.
14. **au.** The French au corresponds to the English au (òò), as :
 F. auditor, M.E. auditour, E. auditor (òòdìtər), p. 26.
Exceptions. F. lavender, M.E. lavender, E. laundress¹
 (laandress).
 F. gaugeour, M.E. gaugeour, E. gauger (géijər), and
 4 others, p. 27.
 F. raumper, M.E. rampen, E. ramp (ræmp), and 5 others.
 F. aunte, M.E. aunte, E. aunt (aant), and 7 others.
15. **ea.** The French ea corresponds to the English ea (ii), as :
 F. seal, M.E. seel, E. seal (siil), and 4 others, p. 27.
Exception. F. realme, M.E. realme, E. realm (relm).
16. **ee.** The French ee corresponds to the English ee (ii), as :
 F. degree, M.E. degree, E. degree (degrii), p. 27.
17. **ei, ey.** The French ei, ey, correspond to the English ai or ay (éi), as :
 F. affrei, M.E. afray, E. affray (əfréi), p. 28.
Exceptions. F. eise, M.E. eise, E. ease³ (iis).
 F. meynour, E. mainour, *later* manner (in law); pronounced (mænər), p. 28.
 F. deceit, M.E. deceit, E. deceit³ (desiit), and 4 others.
 F. leisir, M.E. leisir, E. leisure³ (lezhər), and 1 other,
 viz. E. pleasure, p. 29.
 F. cheys, M.E. chois, E. choice (chois), and 2 others.

¹ This sound is clearly due to the loss of *v*.—W.W.S.

² See p. vi, note 1.

³ *Ease* and *deceit* were formerly (and are still provincially) pronounced (éiz, diséit), uniformly with *affray*. For (lezhər), the pronunciation (liizhər) is sometimes heard.—W.W.S.

F. people, M.E. people, peple, E. people¹ (piipl).

The French eir corresponds to the English air (eir), as :

F. despeir, M.E. despeir, E. despair (despeir), p. 28.

Exception. F. veirdit, M.E. verdit, E. verdict (vèrdict),
p. 29.

18. eu. The French eu corresponds to the English eu, ew (iu), as :

F. ewere, M.E. ewere, E. ewer (iuer), p. 29.

Exception. F. feun,² M.E. fawn, E. fawn (fòòn).

The French eur corresponds to the English ur (uur), as :

F. seurte, M.E. seurte, E. surety (shuurti), and 1 other.

19. ie. The French ie corresponds to the English ie (ii), as :
F. niece, M.E. nece, neice, E. niece (niis), p. 29.

20. iew. The French iew corresponds to the English iew, as :
F. view, M.E. vew, E. view (viuu), p. 29.

- oe. The French oe corresponds to the E. u in the word *utas* (iuutæs). For other examples, see p. 30.

21. oi, oy. The French oi, oy, correspond to the English oi, oy (oi), as :

F. coy, M.E. coy, E. coy (coi), p. 30.

Exceptions. F. joial, juel, M.E. jewel, E. jewel (jiuel).

F. coilte, cuilte, M.E. quilt, E. quilt (cwilt).

{ F. coiller, M.E. cullen, E. cull (cæl).

{ F. oynoun, M.E. oinoun, E. onion (œniën).

22. ou, ow. The French ou, ow, correspond to the English ou, ow (au), as :

F. alower, M.E. alouen, E. allow (əlau), p. 31.

Exceptions. F. toumbe, M.E. toumbe, E. tomb (tuum).

F. double, M.E. double, E. double (dəbl), and 4 others.

F. cours, M.E. cours, E. course (còòrs), and 3 others
(though *enfourmer* should rather be *enformer*).

F. cloue, M.E. cloue, clowe, E. clove (clóuv),³ and
3 others.

¹ This curious word retains the spelling with *eo*, which was meant to indicate the sound of F. *eu* in the Mod. F. *peuple*. This sound was lost and supplanted by long *e*, formerly pronounced (éi), but now (ii).—W.W.S.

² But the better O.F. spelling is *faon*, which becomes E. *fawn* regularly.—W.W.S.

³ In this difficult word it would appear that the *u*, being written between two

23. *ua*. The French *ua* corresponds to the English *ua* (*wéi*), as :
 F. assuager, M.E. assuagen, E. assuage (*æswéij*), p. 31.
 In this, the sole example, it seems that the *u* has become *w*, and the *a* has become (*éi*) regularly, as *age*, p. 6.
24. *ui*. The French *ui* corresponds to the English *oi*, *oy* (*oi*), as :
 F. destruire, M.E. destruien, E. destroy (*destroi*), p. 32.
Exception. F. *pui*, M.E. *pew*, E. *pew* (*piu*).
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There is an interesting article on French Phonology by Mr. Nicol, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, pages 629-636, under the heading *France*. As the information there given is very valuable in connection with this subject, I give the following epitome, beginning from page 632.

Old French orthography was phonetic; writers aimed at representing the sounds they used, not at using a fixed combination of letters for each word.

French and Provençal of the tenth century *agree* in treatment of Latin final consonants and the vowels preceding them. They agree in changing the Latin *û* from a labio-guttural to a labio-palatal vowel. Compare the *French* *lune*, *Provençal* *luna*, with *Italian* *luna*.

French of this period *differs* from Provençal—

(1) In absorbing, rejecting or consonantizing the unaccented vowel of the last syllable but one. *F.* *esclandre*, *Prov.* *escandol*, from *L.* *scandalum*.

(2) It changes an accented *a*, not in position, into *ai* before nasals and gutturals, and not after a palatal, and elsewhere into *é* (*West F.*) or *ei* (*East F.*), which develops an *i* before it when preceded by a palatal. *F.* *main* (*manum*), *Prov.* *man*; *ele* (*alam*), *East F.* *eile*, *Prov.* *ala*; *O.F.* *meitié* (*L.* *medietatem*), *Prov.* *meitat*.

(3) It changes the unaccented *a* in a final syllable into *ə*, usually written *e*. *F.* *aime* (*amā*), *Prov.* *ama*.

vowels, was actually mistaken for *v* and so pronounced. Conversely, M.E. *pouer* (really *pover*) was read with *u*, and has become *poor*, though *poverty* is preserved.—W.W.S.

(4) It changes an original *au* into *ò*. *F.* or (*aurum*), *Prov.* *aur*; *F.* *rober* (*O.H.G.* *raubón*), *Prov.* *rauber* (*E.* *rob*).

(5) It changes the general Romanic *é* into *ei*. *F.* *veine* (*venam*), *Prov.* *vena*; *F.* *peil* (*pilum*), *Prov.* *pel*.

SOUND-CHANGES.

Latin c. *Northern French* often has *tsh* (written *ch*) for *Parisian c*, and conversely *c* for *Parisian ch*. Hence *E.* *chisel* (*F.* *ciseau*, *Lat.* *cæsellum*?); and *E.* *catch*, *Northern F.* *cachier* (*captiare*), *Parisian* *chacier*. The last of these gave *E.* *chase*.

Teut. w. *The initial Teutonic w* is retained in the north-east and along the north coast; elsewhere *g* is prefixed. *Picard* *warde*, *werre*. *Parisian* *garde*, *guerre*. *English* shows both forms, *ward* and *guard*.

In the twelfth century the *u* of *gu* dropped, giving *Mod. French* *garde*, *guerre* (with *gu=g*).

Lat. a. For the *Latin accented a* not in position, *West French* has *é*, *East French* *ei*, both taking *i* before them when a palatal precedes. *Norman* and *Parisian* *per* (*parem*), *oiez* (*audiat*), *Lorraine* *peir*, *oieis*. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the close *é* changed to the open *è*, except when final, or before a silent consonant; *F.* *amer* (*amarum*) now having *è*, *aimer* (*amare*) retaining *é*.

English shows the Western close *é*; as: *peer*, *Mod. F.* *pair*, *Old F.* *per*; *chief*, *Mod. F.* *chef*, *Lat.* *caput*.

Lat. e. *Latin accented e*, not in position, when it came to be followed in Old French by *i*, unites with this to form *i* in the Western dialects, while the Eastern have *ei*.

Picard, *Norman*, *Parisian* *pire* (*pejor*), *piz* (*pectus*); *Burgundian* *peire*, *peiz*. This distinction is still preserved.

English words show always *i*; *price* (*prix*, *pretium*), *spite* (*dépit*, *despectum*).

NASALIZATION of vowels followed by a nasal consonant did not take place simultaneously with all vowels. *A* and *e* before *m* or *n*, or a guttural and palatal *n*, were nasal in the eleventh century. The nasalization of *i* and *u* (*Modern F.* *u*) did not take place till the sixteenth century. In all cases, the loss of the following nasal consonant is quite modern. It took place whether the nasal consonant was or was not followed by a vowel, *femme* and *honneur* being pronounced with nasal vowels in the first syllable till after the sixteenth century.

English generally has *au* (now often reduced to *a*) for the Old French *â*—*vaunt* (*vanter*, *vanitare*), *tawny* (*tanné*, of *Celtic* origin).

F. e. ASSIMILATION OF THE NASAL *e* TO NASAL *a* did not begin till the middle of the eleventh century, and is not yet universal in France, though it became general a century later. In the *Roland* there are several cases of mixture in the assonances *ant* and *ent*.

English has several words with *a* for *e* before nasals—*rank* (*rang*, *Old F.* *renc*, *Teut.* *hringa*); *pansy* (*pensée*, *pensatum*); but the majority show *e*—*enter* (*entrer*, *intrare*), *fleam* (*flamme*, *Old F.* *fleme*, *phlebotomum*). This distinction is still preserved in the Norman of *Guernsey*, where *an* and *en*, though both nasal, have different sounds.

F. ai. CHANGE OF THE DIPHTHONG *ai* TO *èi* and afterwards to *èè* (the doubling indicates length) had not taken place in the earliest French documents, the words with *ai* assonating only on words with *a*. Before nasals (as in *laine*, *lanam*) and *ie* (as in *payé*, *pacatum*), *ai* remained a diphthong up to the 16th century, being apparently *ei*, whose fate in this situation it has followed. *English* shows *ai* regularly before nasals and when final, and in a few other words—*vain* (*vain*, *vanum*), *pay* (*payer*, *pacare*), *wait* (*guetter*, *Teut.* *wahten*); but before most consonants it has usually *èè*—*peace* (*pais*, *pacem*), *feat* (*fait*, *factum*).

F. i. LOSS OR TRANSPOSITION OF *i* (=y-consonant) following

the consonant ending an accented syllable begins in the twelfth century. *Early Old F.* glorie (gloriam), estudie (studium), olie (oleum), *Mod. F.* gloire, étude, huile. *English* sometimes shows the earlier form—glory, study; sometimes the later—dower (douaire, *Early Old F.* doarie, dotarium), oil (huile, oleum).

1. THE VOCALIZATION OF *l* preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant becomes frequent at the end of the twelfth century. When preceded by open *è*, an *a* is developed before *l* while yet a consonant: eleventh century salse (salsa), beltet (bellitatem), solder (solidare); *Mod. F.* sauce, beauté, souder. In Parisian, the final *el* followed the fate of *el* before a consonant, becoming the triphthong *eau*; but in Norman the vocalization did not take place, and *l* was afterwards rejected. *Mod. F.* ruisseau, *Guerusey* russé (rivicellum).

English words of French origin sometimes show *l* before a consonant, but the general form is *u*; scald (échauder, excalidare); Walter (Gautier, *Tent.* Waldhari); sauce, beauty, soder (usually written solder).

The final *el* is kept; veal (veau, *O.F.* veel, vitellum), seal (sceau, *O.F.* seel, sigillum).

- F. ei. In the East and Centre, *ei* changes to *oi*, while the older sound is retained in the North-West and West. *Norman* estreit (étroit, strictum), preie (proie, praedam); twelfth century *Picard* and *Parisian* estroit, proie.

The Parisian *oi*, whether from *ei* or the *Old F.* *oi*, became in the fifteenth century *ue* (mirouer=miroir, miratorium), and in the sixteenth, in certain words, *e*, now written *ai*; français, connaître, from francois (franceis, franciscum), conoistre (conuistre, cognoscere).

Where it did not undergo the latter change, it is now *ua* or *wa*—roi (rei, regem), croix (cruis, crucem). Before nasals and palatal *l*, *ei* was kept—veine (vena), veille (vigila), and everywhere survives unlabialized in *Mod. Norman*: *Guernsey* ételle (étoile, stella).

English shows generally *ei* or *ai* for original *ei*—strait (estreit), prey (preie): but in several words has the

later Parisian *oi* — *coy* (*coi*, *quietum*), *loyal* (*loyal*, *legalem*).

Lat. *o* or *u*. THE SPLITTING OF THE VOWEL-SOUND from an accented Latin *o* or *u* not in position (reproduced in Old French by *o* and *u* indifferently), into *u*, *o* (before nasals) and *eu* (the latter first a diphthong, now = G. *ö*), is unknown to Western French till the twelfth century, and not general in Eastern.

The sound in the eleventh century Norman was nearer *u* (F. *ou*) than *o* (F. *ô*), as words borrowed by English show *uu* (at first *u*, then *ou* or *ow*), never *óó*; but was probably not quite *u*, as Mod. Norman shows the same splitting of sound as Parisian. *Old F.* *espose*, *espuse* (*sponsam*), *nom*, *num* (*nomen*), *flor*, *flur* (*florem*), *F. épouse*, *nom*, *fleur*. *English* shows almost always *uu*; *spouse*, *noun*, *flower* (*Early Mid. Eng.* *spuse*, *nun*, *flur*): but *nephew* with *eu* (*neveu*, *nepotem*).

F. *qu*. LOSS OF *u* OR *w* FROM *qu* dates from the end of the twelfth century. *Old F.* *quart* (*quantum*), *quittier* (*quietare*), with *qu=kiv*. *Mod. F.* *quart*, *quitter*, with *qu=k*. In *Walloon*, the *w* is preserved, *couâr*, *cuitter*; as is the case in the *English* *quart*, *quit*.

F. *gu*. The *w* of *gw* seems to have been lost earlier, *English* having simple *g*—*gage* (*gage*, *older guage*, *Teut.* *wadi*), *guise* (*guise*, *Teut.* *wisa*).

F. *ou*. THE CHANGE OF THE DIPHTHONG *ou* TO *uu* did not take place till after the twelfth century, and did not occur in Picardy, where *ou* became *au*,—*caus*, from the older *cous*, *cols* (*cous*, *collos*).

English keeps *ou* distinct from *uu*; *vault*, for *vaut* (*F.* *voûte*, *volvitam*), *soder* (*souder*, *solidare*).

F. *ie*. THE CHANGE OF THE DIPHTHONG *ie* TO SIMPLE *é* is specially Anglo-Norman. In Old French of the Continent these sounds never rhyme, in *English* they constantly do; and *English* shows, with rare exceptions, the simple vowel—*fierce* (*Old F.* *fiers*, *ferus*), *chief* (*chief*, *caput*), with *ie=ee*; but *pannier* (*panier*, *panarium*).

At the beginning of the modern period, Parisian dropped the *i* of *ie*, when preceded by *ch* or *j*—chef, abrégér (*Old F.* abregier, abbreviare); elsewhere, except in verbs, *ie* is retained—fier (ferum), pitié (pietatem).

F. *au*. In the sixteenth century, *au* changed to *ao*, then to *ó*, its present sound, rendering *maux* (*Old F.* mals, malos), identical with *mots* (muttos).

au of *eau* underwent the same change, but its *e* was still sounded as *ə* (*e* in *que*); in the next century this was dropped, making *veaux* (*Old F.* vœels, vitellos), identical with *vaux* (vals, valles).

A still later change is the GENERAL LOSS OF THE VOWEL (written *e*) OF UNACCENTED FINAL SYLLABLES. This vowel preserved in the sixteenth century the sound *ə*, which it appears to have had in Early Old French. In later Anglo-Norman, the final *ə* (like every other sound) was treated exactly as the same sound in Middle English, *i.e.* it came to be omitted or retained at pleasure, and in the fifteenth century disappeared. In Old French the loss of the final *ə* was confined to a few words and forms. In the fifteenth century *ə* before a vowel generally disappears; and in the sixteenth century, *ə* after an unaccented vowel and in the syllable *ent* after a vowel, does the same. *Avoient* had two syllables, as now (*avaient*), but in Old French three syllables (as *L. habebant*). These phenomena occur much earlier in the Anglicized French of England—fourteenth century *aveynt* (*Old F.* aveient). But the universal loss of the final *e* did not take place in French till the eighteenth century, after the general loss of final consonants.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

All combinations of vowel-letters represented diphthongs. Thus *ai*=*a* followed by *i*; *ou*=*óu* or *òu*; *ui*=either *ói* (Anglo-Norman *ui*), or *yi*; and similarly with the others—*ei*, *eu*, *oi*, *iu*, *ie*, *ue*, (*æ*), and the triphthong *ieu*.

The dropping of silent *s*, the distinction of close and open *e* by acute and grave accents, and the restriction of *i* and *u* to vowel-sounds, and of *j* and *v* to consonant-sounds, are due to the sixteenth century.

The replacement of *oi*, where it had assumed the value *è*, by *ai*, did not begin till the last century, and was not the rule till the present one.

Since the sixteenth century, changes in French spelling have been very small. Modern French is as unphonetic as English, and has even lost some characteristics of the old language which English has preserved. Indeed, English preserves many features of French orthography, such as the use of *c* for the sound of *s*, of *j* (*i*) for the sound *dzh*, of *v* (*u*) for *v* (which was written *f* in A.S.), of *ch* for *tsh*, *w* for the runic letter having the same value, and of *qu* for *cw*.

In Norman, the Old French *ó* had become very like *u*, and in *English* went entirely into it; *o*, which was one of its French signs, then came to be often used for *u* in English—(come for cume).

U having often in Old French its Modern French value, was so used in *English*, and replaced the Old English (A. S.) *y* (busy for bysi, M. E. brud for brȳd); and *y* was often used for *i* (day for dai).

In the thirteenth century, when *ou* had come to represent *u* in France, it was borrowed by *English*, and used for the long sound of that vowel (sour for sūr); and *gu*, which had come to mean simply *g* hard, was occasionally used to represent the sound *g* before *i* and *e* (guess for gesse).

Some of the early modern etymological spellings were imitated in English, as in the words phlegm, author.

Mr. Nicol has also contributed the following valuable articles to the Philological Society's Transactions. On the diphthong *au*, Transactions for 1877-9, p. 562; on some points in Early English pronunciation, p. vi (of the same volume); on some English derivations, p. xii (of the same);

on Middle-English Orthography, p. ix ; on Old French Labial Vowels, Transactions for 1873-4, p. 77.

There is an article by Mr. J. Payne, on The Norman Element in the spoken and written English of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and in our Provincial Dialects, in the Transactions for 1868-9, pp. 352-449. Some remarks upon this article will be found in Mr. A. J. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 438. Mr. Ellis has also investigated the pronunciation of the Norman-French *ai* and *ei* in the same work, pp. 450-459 ; with some remarks upon Norman and English rhymes, pp. 460-466.

For frequent aid throughout this little work I am especially indebted to my father, at whose suggestion I first undertook it, and without whose aid I could not have completed it.

B. M. S.

CAMBRIDGE, *December* 19, 1884.

ANGLO-FRENCH VOWELS.

ab—ak.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
abbeie	abbeie	<i>abbey</i>	æbi	
abbesse	abbesse	<i>abbess</i>	æbes	
gaber	gabben	<i>gab</i>	gæb	
habit	habit	<i>habit</i>	hæbit	4
action	action	<i>action</i>	æcshən	
detractiun	detractiun	<i>detractiun</i>	ditræcshən	
sac	sak	<i>sack</i>	sæc	
sacrifise	sacrifise	<i>sacrifice</i>	sæcrifais	8
attacher	attachen	<i>attach</i>	ætæch	
bachelor	bachelor	<i>bachelor</i>	bæchilær	
adamant	adamant	<i>adamant</i>	ædômænt	
advent	advent	<i>advent</i>	ædvənt	12
adversarie	adversarie	<i>adversary</i>	ædvørsəri	
saffran	saffran	<i>saffron</i>	sæfrən	
agate	agate	<i>agate</i>	æget	
dragon	dragoun	<i>dragon</i>	drægən	16
majeste	majeste	<i>majesty</i>	mæjesti	
hakeney	hakeney	<i>hackney</i>	hæni	
makerel	makerel	<i>mackerel</i>	mæcərəl	

al.

allegorie	allegorie	<i>allegory</i>	ælegori	20
alom	alom	<i>alum</i>	æləm	
balaunce	balaunce	<i>balance</i>	bæləns	
challenge	challenge	<i>challenge</i>	chælenj	
chalice	chalice	<i>chalice</i>	chælis	24
galie	galie	<i>galley</i>	gæli	
galoper	galopen	<i>gallop</i>	gæləp	
galoun	galoun	<i>gallon</i>	gælən	
maladie	maladie	<i>malady</i>	mælədi	28
malice	malice	<i>malice</i>	mælis	
mallard	mallard	<i>mallard</i>	mælərd	
paleis	paleis	<i>palace</i>	pæles	
talent	talent	<i>talent</i>	tælənt	32
taloun	taloun	<i>talon</i>	tælən	

al (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
vallee	valeie	<i>valley</i>	væli	
valour	valour	<i>valour</i>	vælər	
value	value	<i>value</i>	vælyu	36
alblastre	alblast	<i>arblast</i>	aarblast	
alemaunde	alemaunde	<i>almond</i>	aamənd	
palme	palme	<i>palm</i>	paam	
palmer	palmer	<i>palmer</i>	paamər	40
alter	alter	<i>altar</i>	ðòltər	
assalt	assalt	<i>assault</i>	əsòðlt	
defalte	defalte	<i>default</i>	defòðlt	
falcoun	faucoun	<i>falcon</i>	fòòcən	44
fals	fals	<i>false</i>	fòòls	
palfrey	palfrey	<i>palfrey</i>	pòòlfri	
malencolye	malencolie	<i>melancholy</i>	meləncoli	

am.

champion	champion	<i>champion</i>	chæmpiən	48
clamour	clamour	<i>clamour</i>	clæmər	
damage	damage	<i>damage</i>	dæmej	
damoysele	damoisel	<i>damsel</i>	dæmzəl	
examiner	examinen	<i>examine</i>	exæmin	52
gramaire	gramaire	<i>grammar</i>	græmər	
hamelet	hamelet	<i>hamlet</i>	hæmlet	
lampe	lampe	<i>lamp</i>	læmp	
lamprey	lamprey	<i>lamprey</i>	læmpri	56
ensample	ensample	<i>sample</i>	saampəl	

an.

abandoner	abandonen	<i>abandon</i>	əbændən	
ancestre	ancestre	<i>ancestor</i>	ænstestər	
anguisse	anguise	<i>anguish</i>	ængwɪʃ	60
anys	anis	<i>anise</i>	ænis	
ban	ban	<i>ban</i>	bæn	
banere	banere	<i>banner</i>	bænər	
bani (<i>pp.</i>)	banishen	<i>banish</i>	bænɪʃ	64
blanc	blank	<i>blank</i>	blænc	
blandir	blandisen	<i>blandish</i>	blændɪʃ	
blanket	blanket	<i>blanket</i>	blæncet	
brand	brand	<i>brand</i> (sword)	brænd	68
canevace	canevas	<i>canvas</i>	cænvəs	
chanel	chanel	<i>channel</i>	chænəl	

an (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
franchise	franchise	<i>franchise</i>	frænchaiz	
gangle (s.)	jangle	<i>jangle</i>	jængl	72
langage	langage	<i>language</i>	længwij	
langour	langour	<i>languor</i>	længər	
manere	manere	<i>manner</i>	mænər	
mansion	mansion	<i>mansion</i>	mænsøn	76
mantel	mantel	<i>mantle</i>	mæntl	
pan	pan	<i>pan</i>	pæn	
panetrie	panetrie	<i>pantry</i>	pætri	
planete	planete	<i>planet</i>	plænet	80
rancler (v.)	ranclen	<i>rankle</i>	rænl	
tannour	tannour	<i>tanner</i>	tænər	
vanite	vanite	<i>vanity</i>	væniti	
<hr/>				
avancer	avancen	<i>advance</i>	ædvaans	84
avantage	avantage	<i>advantage</i>	ædvaantej	
chancerie	chancerie	<i>chancery</i>	chaanseri	
comand (s.)	comand	<i>command</i>	cəmaand	
dance (s.)	dance, daunce	<i>dance</i>	daans	88
demand (s.)	demand	<i>demand</i>	demaand	
enchantier	enchanten	<i>enchant</i>	enchaant	
enhancer	enhancen	<i>enhance</i>	enhaans	
grant (s.)	grant	<i>grant</i>	graant	92
lance	lance	<i>lance</i>	laans	
transe	transe	<i>trance</i>	traans	
<hr/>				
danter	danten, dauntēn	<i>daunt</i>	dðont	
espandre	spaunen	<i>spawn</i>	spðon	96
vanter	(a)vauntēn	<i>vaunt</i>	vðont	
<hr/>				
manace	manace	<i>menace</i>	menəs	

ap.

baptisme	baptem	<i>baptism</i>	bæptizm	
cappe	cappe	<i>cap</i>	cæp	100
chapele	chapele	<i>chapel</i>	chæpl	
chapelein	chapelein	<i>chaplain</i>	chæplen	
chapitre	chapitre	<i>chapter</i>	chæptər	

ar.

arc	arc	<i>arc</i>	aac	104
archer	archer	<i>archer</i>	aachər	
armer (v.)	armen	<i>arm</i>	aam	
armour	armour	<i>armour</i>	aamər	
arsun	arsun	<i>arson</i>	aasən	108

ar (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
art	art	<i>art</i>	aat
barbour	barbour	<i>barber</i>	baabər
barre	barre	<i>bar</i>	baa
bargaine	bargain	<i>bargain</i>	baagen 112
barge	barge	<i>barge</i>	baaj
carcas	carcas	<i>carcase</i>	caacəs
carfeux	carfourkes	<i>carfax</i>	caafæx
carpenter	carpenter	<i>carpenter</i>	caapentər 116
carte	carte	<i>card</i>	caad
char	char	<i>car</i>	caa
charge	charge	<i>charge</i>	chaaj
charme (s.)	charme	<i>charm</i>	chaam 120
chartre	chartre	<i>charter</i>	chaatər
dart	dart	<i>dart</i>	daat
departir	departen	<i>depart</i>	dipaāt
garde	garde	<i>guard</i>	gaad 124
gardin	gardin	<i>garden</i>	gaadən
garnement	garnement	<i>garment</i>	gaamənt
garter	garter	<i>garter</i>	gaatər
hardi	hardy	<i>hardy</i>	haadi 128
larder	larder	<i>larder</i>	laadər
large	large	<i>large</i>	laaj
marbre	marbre	<i>marble</i>	maabl
marche	marche	<i>march (boundary)</i>	maach 132
marchis	markis	<i>marquis</i>	maacwɪs
mareschal	mareschal	<i>marshal</i>	maashəl
mareys	mareys	<i>marsh</i>	maash
martir (s.)	martir	<i>martyr</i>	maatər 136
parcele	parcele	<i>parcel</i>	paasəl
parcenere	parcenere	<i>partner</i>	paatnər
pardoun	pardoun	<i>pardon</i>	paadən
parlement	parlement	<i>parliament</i>	paaləmənt 140
part	part	<i>part</i>	paat
partie	partie	<i>party</i>	paati
scarlet	scarlet	<i>scarlet</i>	scaalet
<hr/>			
apparaill	aparail	<i>apparel</i>	æpærel 144
baraine	baraine	<i>barren</i>	bæren
barile	barile	<i>barrel</i>	bærəl
baroun	baroun	<i>baron</i>	bæron
carier	carien	<i>carry</i>	cæri 148
cariage	cariage	<i>carriage</i>	cærej
carole	carole	<i>carol</i>	cærəl
caruine	caroine	<i>carion</i>	cæriən
charette	charette	<i>chariot</i>	chæriət 152
charite	charite	<i>charity</i>	chæriti

ar (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
clare	clarre	<i>claret</i>	clæret	156
garauntie	garauntie	<i>guarantee</i>	gærəntii	
garnison	garnison	<i>garrison</i>	gærīsən	
mariage	mariage	<i>marriage</i>	mærej	
paroche	parische	<i>parish</i>	pærish	
agard	agard	<i>award</i>	əwðəd	160
garderobe	warderobe	<i>wardrobe</i>	wðædrúb	
quart	quart	<i>quart</i>	cwðæt	
quarter	quarter	<i>quarter</i>	cwðætər	
rewarder	rewarden	<i>reward</i>	riwðəd	
garenne	warenne	<i>warren</i>	wòren	164
guarant	warant	<i>warrant</i>	wòrənt	
quarel	quarel	<i>quarrel</i>	cwòrəl	
		(<i>crossbow-bolt</i>)		
desclarer	declaren	<i>declare</i>	dieléər	168
escarcete	scarcete	<i>scarcity</i>	scéəsiti	
parent	parent	<i>parent</i>	péərənt	
variance	variance	<i>variance</i>	véərions	
darce	darce	<i>dace</i>	déis	
marchant	marchant	<i>merchant</i>	mørchənt	172

as.

amasser	amassen	<i>amass</i>	əməs	176
bastard	bastard	<i>bastard</i>	bæstərd	
chastete	chastete	<i>chastity</i>	chæstiti	
jaspe	jaspre	<i>jasper</i>	jæspər	
vassal	vassal	<i>vassal</i>	væsl	
facoun	fasoun	<i>fashion</i>	fæshən	
passiun	passioun	<i>passion</i>	pæshən	
basme	basme, baume	<i>balm</i>	baam	180
passer	passen	<i>pass</i>	paas	
plastre	plastre	<i>plaster</i>	plaaštər	184
pastour	pastour	<i>pastor</i>	paastər	
pasture	pasture	<i>pasture</i>	paastyər	
rascaylle	rascaile	<i>rascal</i>	raascl	

at-ax.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
bataile	bataile	<i>battle</i>	bætl
batre	bateren	<i>batter</i>	bætar
chatel	chatel	<i>chattels</i>	chætl(z)
matire	matere	<i>matter</i>	mætar
matines	matines	<i>matins</i>	mætinz
stature	stature	<i>stature</i>	stætyər
statut	statut	<i>statute</i>	stætyuut
gravel	gravel	<i>gravel</i>	grævl
savage	savage	<i>savage</i>	sævej
taverne	taverne	<i>tavern</i>	tævern
travail	travail	<i>travail</i>	trævel
traverser	traversen	<i>traverse</i>	trævers
maxime	maxime	<i>maxim</i>	mæxim
tax	tax, taxe	<i>tax</i>	tæx

ā.

laite	laite	<i>laity</i>	léiiti	200
fable	fable	<i>fable</i>	féibl	
labur	labour	<i>labour</i>	léibər	
table	table	<i>table</i>	téibl	
bacin	bacin	<i>basin</i>	béisn	204
chace (s.)	chace	<i>chase</i>	chéis	
embracer	embracen	<i>embrace</i>	embréis	
enlacer	enlacen	<i>enlace</i>	enléis	
espace	space	<i>space</i>	spéis	208
face	face	<i>face</i>	féis	
grace	grace	<i>grace</i>	gréis	
mace	mace	<i>mace</i>	méis	
macun	masoun	<i>mason</i>	méisn	212
place	place	<i>place</i>	pléis	
trace	trace	<i>trace</i>	tréis	
naciun	nacioun	<i>nation</i>	néishən	
oblacioun	oblacioun	<i>oblation</i>	obléishən	216.
patience	patience	<i>patience</i>	péishəns	
wafre	wafre	<i>wafer</i>	wéifər	
ague	ague	<i>ague</i>	éigyu	
aage	aage, age	<i>age</i>	éij	220
cage	cage	<i>cage</i>	céij	
engager	engagen	<i>engage</i>	engéij	
estage	stage	<i>stage</i>	stéij	
gage	gage	<i>gage</i>	géij	224
page	page	<i>page</i>	péij	
rage	rage	<i>rage</i>	réij	
wage	wage	<i>wage</i>	wéij	
lake	lake	<i>lake</i>	léik	228
alien	alien	<i>alien</i>	éilien	

ā (continued).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
bale	bale	<i>bale</i>	béil
masle, madle	male	<i>male</i>	méil
val	val	<i>vale</i>	véil 232
blamer	blamen	<i>blame</i>	bléim
chambre	chambre	<i>chamber</i>	chéimbər
clame (s.)	clame	<i>claim</i>	cléim
dame	dame	<i>dame</i>	déim 236
desclamer	disclaimen	<i>disclaim</i>	discléim
fame	fame	<i>fame</i>	féim
flambe	flambe, flamme	<i>flame</i>	fléim
canyn	canin	<i>canine</i>	céinain 240
angele	angel	<i>angel</i>	éinjel
estranger (v.)	estrangen	<i>estrangle</i>	estréinj
chape	chape, cape	<i>cape</i>	céip
chapon	capon	<i>capon</i>	céipən 244
eschap (s.)	escap	<i>escape</i>	escéip
estaple	staple	<i>staple</i>	stéipl
abasser	abasen	<i>abase</i>	əbéis
bas	base	<i>base</i>	béis 248
blasoun	blasoun	<i>blazon</i>	bléizn
cas	cas	<i>case</i>	céis
chasse	casse	<i>case (box)</i>	céis
evasioun	evasioun	<i>evasion</i>	eveizhən 252
haste	haste	<i>haste</i>	héist
past	paste	<i>paste</i>	péist
taster	tasten	<i>taste</i>	téist
wast	wast	<i>waste</i>	wéist 256
abatre	abaten	<i>abate</i>	əbéit
date	date	<i>date</i>	déit
debate	debate	<i>debate</i>	dibéit
estat	estat	<i>estate</i>	estéit 260
patente	patent	<i>patent</i>	péitent
plate	plate	<i>plate</i>	pléit
rate	rate	<i>rate</i>	réit
translator	translaten	<i>translate</i>	trənsléit 264
matrone	matron	<i>matron</i>	méitrən
patron	patron	<i>patron</i>	péitrən
nature	nature	<i>nature</i>	néichər
cave	cave	<i>cave</i>	céiv 268
favour	favour	<i>favour</i>	féivər
mave	mavis	<i>mavis</i>	méivis
navie	navie	<i>navy</i>	néivi
pavement	pavement	<i>pavement</i>	péivment 272
saveur	saveour	<i>saviour</i>	séivier
savourer	savouren	<i>savour</i>	séivər

eb—eg.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
treble	treble	<i>treble</i>	trebl
effect (s.)	effect	<i>effect</i>	effect 276
peck	pek	<i>peck</i>	pee
record	record	<i>record</i>	recòod
rectour	rectour	<i>rector</i>	rector
secund	second	<i>second</i>	secənd 280
affection	affection	<i>affection</i>	əfecshən
correction	correction	<i>correction</i>	cərecshən
election	election	<i>election</i>	elecshən
fleccher	fleccher	<i>fletcher</i>	flechər 284
creditour	creditour	<i>creditor</i>	creditər
medler	medlen	<i>meddle</i>	medl
nefu	neveu	<i>nephew</i>	neviu
legat	legat	<i>legate</i>	leget 288
eglenter	eglentier	<i>eglantine</i>	egləntain
negligence	negligence	<i>negligence</i>	neglijens
alleger	allegen	<i>allege</i>	əlej
plegge	plegge	<i>pledge</i>	plej 292
abregger	abreggen	<i>abridge</i>	əbrij

el.

celle	celle	<i>cell</i>	sel
celer	celer	<i>cellar</i>	selər
compeller	compellen	<i>compel</i>	cəmpel 296
deluge	deluge	<i>deluge</i>	deliuj
elefant	elefant	<i>elephant</i>	elephənt
felon	felon	<i>felon</i>	felən
geluse	jelous	<i>jealous</i>	jeləs 300
melodie	melodie	<i>melody</i>	melədi
prelat	prelat	<i>prelate</i>	prelet
appel	apel, apeel	<i>appeal</i>	əpiil
pelerin, pelrin	pilgrim	<i>pilgrim</i>	pilgrim 304

em.

assembler	asemblen	<i>assemble</i>	əsembl
attempter	atempten	<i>attempt</i>	ətemt
blemir	blemisen	<i>blemish</i>	blemish
contempt	contempt	<i>contempt</i>	cəntəmt 308
emperur	emperour	<i>emperor</i>	empərər
gemme	gemme	<i>gem</i>	jəm
membre	membre	<i>member</i>	membər

em (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
memorie	memorie	<i>memory</i>	meməri 312
resembler	resemblen	<i>resemble</i>	rizeembl
tempest	tempest	<i>tempest</i>	tempest
temple	temple	<i>temple</i>	templ
temprer	tempren	<i>temper</i>	tempər 316
trembler	tremblen	<i>tremble</i>	trembl
emboscher	enbuschen	<i>ambush</i>	æmbush

en.

estandard	standard	<i>standard</i>	stændæd	
renc	renk	<i>rank</i>	rænk	320
benefiz	benefet	<i>benefit</i>	benefit	
beneicon	beneison	<i>benison</i>	benizən	
penance	penance	<i>penance</i>	penəns	
tenant	tenant	<i>tenant</i>	tenənt 324	
tenement	tenement	<i>tenement</i>	tenemənt	
tenur	tenour	<i>tenor</i>	tenər	
tenure	tenure	<i>tenure</i>	tenyər	
comencer	comencen, comsen	<i>commence</i>	cəmens 328	
defence	defence	<i>defence</i>	defens	
contencioun	contencioun	<i>contention</i>	cəntenshən	
mencion	mencioun	<i>mention</i>	menshən	
pencion	pensioun	<i>pension</i>	penshən 332	
amender	amenden	<i>amend</i>	əmend	
attendre	attenden	<i>attend</i>	ətend	
decendre	descenden	<i>descend</i>	desend	
despendre	despenden	<i>spend</i>	spend 336	
vendre	venden	<i>vend</i>	vend	
enemite	enmite	<i>enmity</i>	enmiti	
engine	engine	<i>engine</i>	enjɪn	
vengeance	vengeance	<i>vengeance</i>	venjəns 340	
venison	venison	<i>venison</i>	venzən	
penne	penne	<i>pen</i>	pen	
censure	censure	<i>censure</i>	senshər	
enseigne	enseigne	<i>ensign</i>	ensain 344	
offense	offence	<i>offence</i>	ofens	
sens	sens	<i>sense</i>	sens	
tens	tens	<i>tense</i>	tens	
apprentiz	aprentis	<i>apprentice</i>	əprentis 348	
assent	asent	<i>assent</i>	əsent	
autentik	autentik	<i>authentic</i>	òðthentic	
aventure	aventure	<i>adventure</i>	ədvenchər	
consentir	consenten	<i>consent</i>	cənsent 352	

en (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
entrer	entren	<i>enter</i>	entər	
plente	plente	<i>plenty</i>	plenti	
sentence	sentence	<i>sentence</i>	sentens	
tente	tente	<i>tent</i>	tent	356
vente	vente	<i>vent</i> (sale)	vent	
envie	envie	<i>envy</i>	envi	
denzein	denzein	<i>denizen</i>	denizən	
amenuser	amenusen	<i>minish</i>	minish	360
encens	encens	<i>incense</i>	insens	
menestral	minstral	<i>minstrel</i>	minstrəl	
menever	menever	<i>miniver</i>	minivər	
arenger	arengen	<i>arrange</i>	ərɛinj	364

ep, eq.

accepter	accepten	<i>accept</i>	acsept	
ceptre	ceptre	<i>sceptre</i>	septər	
deputée	depute	<i>deputy</i>	depyuti	
excepcion	excepcioun	<i>exception</i>	ecsepshən	368
lepart	lepard	<i>leopard</i>	lepæd	
lepre	lepre	<i>leper</i>	lepər	
trepet	trevet	<i>trivet</i>	trivet	
equite	equite	<i>equity</i>	equiti	372

es.

desert	desert	<i>desert</i>	dezəət	
fesaunt	fesaunt	<i>pheasant</i>	fezənt	
present	present	<i>present</i>	prezənt	
rescouse	rescous	<i>rescue</i>	resciu	376
lescoun	lessoun	<i>lesson</i>	lesən	
trespas	trespas	<i>trespass</i>	trespəs	
vespre	vespre	<i>vesper</i>	vespər	
assessour	assessour	<i>assessor</i>	əsəsər	380
confesser	confessen	<i>confess</i>	cənfes	
destresce (s.)	distresse	<i>distress</i>	distres	
excesse	excesse	<i>excess</i>	exes	
message	message	<i>message</i>	mesəj	384
mes	messe	<i>mess</i>	mes	
presse	presse	<i>press</i>	pres	
redresser	redressen	<i>redress</i>	redres	
vessel	vessel	<i>vessel</i>	vesəl	388

es (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
depression	depressioun	<i>depression</i>	depreshən
oppressioun	oppressioun	<i>oppression</i>	əpreshən
refreschir	refreschen	<i>refresh</i>	rifresh
session	sessioun	<i>session</i>	seshən 392
arest	aresten	<i>arrest</i>	ərest
chestaine	chestaine	<i>chest(nut)</i>	chesnət
destinee	destine	<i>destiny</i>	destini
geste	geste	<i>jest</i>	jest 396
molester	molesten	<i>molest</i>	molest
question	questioun	<i>question</i>	questyən
requeste	requeste	<i>request</i>	riquest
revestre	revesten	<i>revest</i>	rivest 400
vester	vesten	<i>vest</i>	vest
mesuage	mesuage	<i>message</i>	mesuej
mesure	mesure	<i>measure</i>	mezhar
tresor	tresor	<i>treasure</i>	trezhar 404
vesz	veche	<i>vetch</i>	vech
descord	discord	<i>discord</i>	discòdd
destaunce	distaunce	<i>distance</i>	distəns
enqueste	enqueste	<i>inquest</i>	inquest 408
lesarde	lesarde	<i>lizard</i>	lizərd
meschief	meschief	<i>mischief</i>	mischif
mescreant (<i>adj.</i>)	mescreant	<i>miscreant</i>	miscriənt
abesser	abessen	<i>abase</i>	əbéis 412

et-ex.

abettement	abetment	<i>abetment</i>	əbetmənt
dette	dette	<i>debt</i>	det
discretion	discrecioun	<i>discretion</i>	discreshən
jeter	jetten	<i>jet</i>	jet 416
lettre	lettre	<i>letter</i>	letər
metal	metal	<i>metal</i>	metəl
nette (<i>adj.</i>)	net (?)	<i>neat, net</i>	niit, net
brevete	brevete	<i>brevity</i>	breviti 420
crevace	crevace	<i>crevice</i>	crevis
evidence	evidence	<i>evidence</i>	evidəns
lever	levien	<i>levy</i>	levi
leverer	leveret	<i>leveret</i>	levəret 424
severer	severen	<i>sever</i>	sevər
texture	texture	<i>texture</i>	textyər

e (*becoming ē*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
agreable	agreable	<i>agreeable</i>	əgriiəbl
decre	decree	<i>decree</i>	deerii 428
deitet	deite	<i>deity</i>	dii.iti
glebe	glebe	<i>glebe</i>	gliib
precept	precept	<i>precept</i>	priisept
breche	breche	<i>breach</i>	brüich 432
secrei	secree	<i>secret</i>	siicret
cedre	cedre	<i>cedar</i>	siidər
credence	credence	<i>credence</i>	criidəns
empleder	empleden	<i>implead</i>	impliid 436
pleder	pleden	<i>plead</i>	pliid
proceder	proceden	<i>proceed</i>	prosiid
bef	beef	<i>beef</i>	biif
bref	bref	<i>brief</i>	brüif 440
feffer	feffen	<i>fief</i>	fiif
asseger	assegen	<i>besiege</i>	besiij
egle	egle	<i>eagle</i>	iigl
egre (<i>adj.</i>)	egre	<i>eager</i>	iigər 444
megre (<i>adj.</i>)	megre	<i>meagre</i>	miigər
legioun	legioun	<i>legion</i>	liijən
region	regioun	<i>region</i>	riijən
bek	bek	<i>beak</i>	biik 448
conceler	concelen	<i>conceal</i>	cənsiil
reveler	revelen	<i>reveal</i>	riviil
tele	tele	<i>teal</i>	tiil
vel	veel	<i>veal</i>	viil 452
femele (<i>adj.</i>)	femele	<i>female</i>	fiimeil
seniour	seniour	<i>seignor</i>	siinyər
cesser	cessen	<i>cease</i>	siis
deces	deces	<i>decease</i>	disiis 456
desces	desces	<i>decrease</i>	diciis
demesne	demesne	<i>demesne</i>	dimiin
empescher	apechen	<i>impeach</i>	impiich
reles (<i>s.</i>)	reles	<i>release</i>	riliis 460
resoun	resoun	<i>reason</i>	riizn
treson	tresoun	<i>treason</i>	triizn
beste	beste	<i>beast</i>	biist
feste	feste	<i>feast</i>	fiist 464
encrestre	encreesen	<i>increase</i>	inciis
eschete	eschete	<i>escheat</i>	eschiit
fet	feet	<i>feat</i>	fiit
feture	feture	<i>feature</i>	fiityər 468
retail (<i>s.</i>)	retail	<i>retail</i>	riitél

e (*becoming ē*) (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
retrete	retrete	<i>retreat</i>	ritriit
tretiz	tretis	<i>treatise</i>	triitiz
achever	acheven	<i>achieve</i>	œchiiv 472
achievement (s.)	achevement	<i>achievement</i>	œchiivmønt
chevetain	cheftain	<i>chieftain</i>	chiiftein
fevre	fever	<i>fever</i>	fiivər
grevaunce	grevaunce	<i>grievance</i>	griivəns 476
relever	releven	<i>relieve</i>	riliiv

e (*becoming ā*).

arrener	arenen, arainen	<i>arraign</i>	ərēin
effreer	afrayen	<i>affray</i>	əfrēi
refrener	refreinen	<i>refrain</i>	refrēin 480
regne	regne	<i>reign</i>	rēin
resne	reine	<i>rein</i>	rēin
sustenir	sustenēn	<i>sustain</i>	səstēin

e (*becoming i*).

leonesse	leonesse	<i>lioness</i>	laiənes 484
enquere	enqueren	<i>enquire</i>	enquair
requerir	requeren	<i>require</i>	riquair

er.

herbe	herbe	<i>herb</i>	həəb
amerciement	amerciment	<i>amercement</i>	əməəsmənt 488
mercerie	mercerie	<i>mercery</i>	məəsəri
merci	merci	<i>mercy</i>	məəsi
perche	perche	<i>perch</i>	pəəch
rehercer	rehercen	<i>rehearse</i>	rihəəs 492
sercher	serchen	<i>search</i>	səəch
guerdoun	guerdoun	<i>guerdon</i>	gəədɔn
verdur	verdure	<i>verdure</i>	vəədyər
averer	averren	<i>aver</i>	əvəə 496
heremite	heremite	<i>hermit</i>	həəmit
nerf	nerf	<i>nerve</i>	nəəv
serf	serf	<i>serf</i>	səəf
clerge	clerge	<i>clergy</i>	cləəji 500
verge	verge	<i>verge</i>	vəəj
merle	merle	<i>merle</i> (thrush)	məəl
afermer	affermen	<i>affirm</i>	æffəəm
enfermite	enfermite	<i>infirmity</i>	infəəmiti 504
eskermir	skirmisen	<i>skirmish</i>	skəəmish
hermine	ermine	<i>ermine</i>	əəmin
sermoun	sermoun	<i>sermon</i>	səəmən

er (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
terme	terme	<i>term</i>	təəm 508
vermine	vermine	<i>vermin</i>	vəəmin
serpent	serpent	<i>serpent</i>	səəpənt
deferriŕ	deferren	<i>defer</i>	defəə
enterrer	enterren	<i>inter</i>	intəə 512
errer	erren	<i>err</i>	əə
adversite	adversite	<i>adversity</i>	ədʋəəsi
persone	persone	<i>person</i>	pəəsən
revers	revers	<i>reverse</i>	rivəəs 516
vers	vers	<i>verse</i>	vəəs
certain (<i>adj.</i>)	certain	<i>certain</i>	səətən
reverter	reverten	<i>revert</i>	rivəət
vertu	vertu	<i>virtue</i>	vəətiu 520
servaunt	servaunt	<i>servant</i>	səəvənt
service	service	<i>service</i>	səəvis
clerk	clerk	<i>clerk</i>	claac
ferme	ferme	<i>farm</i>	faam 524
gerlaunde	gerlaunde	<i>garland</i>	gaalənd
gerner	gerner	<i>garner</i>	gaanər
herneis	herneis	<i>harness</i>	haanes
merveille	merveille	<i>marvel</i>	maavəl 528
perdriz	pertriehe	<i>partridge</i>	paatrij
persone	persone	<i>parson</i>	paasən
serjaunt	serjaunt	<i>sergeant</i>	saajənt
arere	arere	<i>arrear</i>	əriir 532
cler	cleer	<i>clear</i>	cliir
chere	chere	<i>cheer</i>	chiir
fers (<i>adj.</i>)	fers	<i>fierce</i>	fiirs
per	per	<i>peer</i>	piir 536
percer	percen	<i>pierce</i>	piirs
reregarde	reregarde	<i>rearguard</i>	riirgaad
terce	terce	<i>tierce</i>	tiirs
beril	beril	<i>beryl</i>	beril 540
cerise	cherise	<i>cherry</i>	cheri
merite	merite	<i>merit</i>	merit
peril	peril	<i>peril</i>	peril
verite	verite	<i>verity</i>	veriti 544
ferrouŕ	ferrouŕ	<i>farrier</i>	færiər
querele	querele	<i>quarrel</i>	quorəl
frere	frere	<i>friar</i>	fraiər

ib-iv.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
ribald	ribald	<i>ribald</i>	ribəld 548
tribute	tribute	<i>tribute</i>	tribyut
affliccioun	affliccioun	<i>affliction</i>	əfflicshən
vicaire	vicaire	<i>vicar</i>	vicər
victor	victor	<i>victor</i>	victər 552
adicion	addicion	<i>addition</i>	ədishən
condicion	condicion	<i>condition</i>	cəndishən
enricher	enrichen	<i>enrich</i>	enrich
richesce	richesse	<i>riches</i>	riches 556
tricherye	tricherie	<i>treachery</i>	trechəri
dignete	dignete	<i>dignity</i>	digniti
ignorance	ignorance	<i>ignorance</i>	ignorəns
pygoun	pigeon	<i>pigeon</i>	pijən 560
vigile	vigile	<i>vigil</i>	vijil
vigur	vigour	<i>vigour</i>	vigər
bille	bille	<i>bill</i>	bil
billette	billette	<i>billet</i>	bilet 564
diligence	diligence	<i>diligence</i>	dilijens
piler	piler	<i>pillar</i>	pilər
pillory	pillory	<i>pillory</i>	piləri
vilein	vilein	<i>villain</i>	vilən 568
chimenee	chimene	<i>chimney</i>	chimni
image	image	<i>image</i>	imej
limite	limite	<i>limit</i>	limit
simple (<i>adj.</i>)	simple	<i>simple</i>	simpl 572
affinite	affinite	<i>affinity</i>	əfiniti
continuer	continuen	<i>continue</i>	cəntinyu
injurie	injurie	<i>injury</i>	injəri
instance	instance	<i>instance</i>	instəns 576
ministre	ministre	<i>minister</i>	ministər
oppinion	opinioun	<i>opinion</i>	əpinien
prince	prince	<i>prince</i>	prins
vynter, vineter	vintener	<i>vintner</i>	vintnər 580
escripture	scripture	<i>scripture</i>	scriptyər
espirit	spirit	<i>spirit</i>	spirit
miracle	miracle	<i>miracle</i>	mirəcl
mirreur	mirour	<i>mirror</i>	mirər 584
issue	issue	<i>issue</i>	isyu
prison	prison	<i>prison</i>	prizn
visage	visage	<i>visage</i>	vizej
visiter	visiten	<i>visit</i>	visit 588
commission	commission	<i>commission</i>	cəmishən
omission	omissioun	<i>omission</i>	omishən
avisium	visioun	<i>vision</i>	vizhən

ib—iv (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
divisiun	divisioun	<i>division</i>	divizhən 592
agistement	agistement	<i>agistment</i>	əjistment
cristien	cristien	<i>Christian</i>	cristiən
resister	resisten	<i>resist</i>	rezist
acquiter	aquiten	<i>acquit</i>	əquit 596
citezein	citesein	<i>citizen</i>	sitizən
litere	litere	<i>litter</i>	litər
pite, pitee	pite	<i>pity</i>	piti
quite	quite	<i>quit</i>	quit 600
quittance	quittance	<i>quittance</i>	quitəns
vitaille	vitaille	<i>victual</i>	vitl
chivalrie	chivalrie	<i>chivalry</i>	shivəlri
deliverer	deliveren	<i>deliver</i>	delivər 604
rivere	rivere	<i>river</i>	rivər
cimiter	cimiter	<i>cemetery</i>	semətəri
virgine	virgine	<i>virgin</i>	vərjin

i.

affiaunce	affiaunce	<i>affiance</i>	əfaiəns 608
aliaunce	aliaunce	<i>alliance</i>	əlaiəns
cri	cri	<i>cry</i>	crai
frire	frien	<i>fry</i>	frai
gyaunt, geaunt	giaunt, geant	<i>giant</i>	jaient 612
liun	lioun	<i>lion</i>	laiən
viande	viande	<i>viand</i>	vaiənd
libel	libel	<i>libel</i>	laibl
license	license	<i>licence</i>	laisəns 616
vice	vice	<i>vice</i>	vais
allie	allie	<i>ally</i>	əlai
client	client	<i>client</i>	claiənt
espier	espien	<i>espy</i>	əpai 620
esquier	squier	<i>squire</i>	squair
plier	plien	<i>ply</i>	plai
quiete (<i>adj.</i>)	quiete	<i>quiet</i>	quaiət
viele	viole	<i>viol</i>	vaiəl 624
estrif	strif	<i>strife</i>	straif
obliger	obligen	<i>oblige</i>	oblaij
assigner	assignen	<i>assign</i>	əsain
signe	signe	<i>sign</i>	sain 628
vigne	vigne	<i>vine</i>	vain
tigre	tigre	<i>tiger</i>	taigər
guile	guile	<i>guile</i>	gail
silence	silence	<i>silence</i>	sailəns 632
prime	prime	<i>prime</i>	praim

Ī (continued).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
decline (s.)	decline	<i>decline</i>	diclain
deviner	devinen	<i>divine</i>	divain
encliner	enclinen	<i>incline</i>	inclain 636
eschine	chine	<i>chine</i>	chain
espine	spine	<i>spine</i> (thorn)	spain
fin (s.)	fin	<i>fine</i>	fain
line	line	<i>line</i>	lain 640
minour	minour	<i>miner</i>	mainər
criour	criour	<i>crier</i>	craïər
diocise	diocise	<i>diocese</i>	daïosez
fyole	viole	<i>vial</i>	vaiəl 644
prior	prior	<i>prior</i>	praiər
riote	riote	<i>riot</i>	raiət
violence	violence	<i>violence</i>	vaiələns
cypresce	cipresse	<i>cypress</i>	saïpres 648
disciple	disciple	<i>disciple</i>	disaïpl
pipe	pipe	<i>pipe</i>	paip
attirer	attiren	<i>attire</i>	ətaiər
desir	desir	<i>desire</i>	dizair 652
environner	environen	<i>environ</i>	envairən
ire	ire	<i>ire</i>	air
sire	sire	<i>sire</i>	sair
tirant	tirant	<i>tyrant</i>	tairənt 656
assise	assise	<i>assize</i>	əsaiz
avis	avis	<i>advice</i>	ədvaiz
degiser	degisen	<i>disguise</i>	disgaiz
despissant (p. pt.)	despisen	<i>despise</i>	dispaiz 660
devise (s.)	devise	<i>device</i>	divais
guise	guise	<i>guise</i>	gaiz
pris	pris	<i>price</i>	prais
prise	prise	<i>prize</i>	praiz 664
rys	rice, ryce (?)	<i>rice</i>	rais
disner	dinen	<i>dine</i>	dain
isle	isle	<i>isle</i>	ail
visconte	visconte	<i>viscount</i>	vaicaunt 668
delite (s.)	delite	<i>delight</i>	dilait
enditer	enditen	<i>endite</i>	endait
mitre	mitre	<i>mitre</i>	maitər
reciter	reciten	<i>recite</i>	risait 672
syte, sit	site	<i>site</i> (situation)	sait
title	title	<i>title</i>	taitl
arriver	arriven	<i>arrive</i>	əraiv
ivoire	ivoire	<i>ivory</i>	aivəri 676
revivre	reviven	<i>revive</i>	rivaiv
fige	fige	<i>fig</i>	fig

ī (continued).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
chemise	chemise	<i>chemise</i>	shemiiz
lige (<i>adj.</i>)	lige	<i>liege</i>	liij 680
ligeance	ligeance	<i>allegiance</i>	əliijəns

ob-op.

obsequies	obsequies	<i>obsequies</i>	obsequiz	
obstacle	obstacle	<i>obstacle</i>	obstæcl	
robber	robber	<i>rob</i>	rob	684
cocodrille	cocodrille	<i>crocodile</i>	crocodail	
doctrine	doctrine	<i>doctrine</i>	doctrin	
occident	occident	<i>occident</i>	ocsident	
boce	boce	<i>botch</i>	boch	688
roche	roche	<i>rock</i>	roc	
coffyn	cofin	<i>coffin</i>	cofin	
cofre	cofre	<i>coffer</i>	cofər	
office	office	<i>office</i>	ofis	692
profit	profit	<i>profit</i>	profit	
loger	logen	<i>lodge</i>	loj	
mokerie	mokerie	<i>mockery</i>	mocəri	
college	college	<i>college</i>	colej	696
columpne	columpne	<i>column</i>	coləm	
dolour	dolour	<i>dolour</i>	dolər	
folie	folie	<i>folly</i>	foli	
joliete	jolite	<i>jollity</i>	joliti	700
olive	olive	<i>olive</i>	oliv	
solaz	solas	<i>solace</i>	soles	
acomplir	acomplisen	<i>accomplish</i>	əcomplish	
comete	comete	<i>comet</i>	comet	704
comun (<i>adj.</i>)	comun	<i>common</i>	comən	
homage	homage	<i>homage</i>	homej	
promesse	promes	<i>promise</i>	promis	
amonester	amonesten	<i>admonish</i>	ədmønish	708
concord	concord	<i>concord</i>	concòd	
conquere	conqueren	<i>conquer</i>	concər	
conscience	conscience	<i>conscience</i>	conshəns	
contract	contract	<i>contract</i>	contræct	712
contrarie	contrarie	<i>contrary</i>	contrəri	
converse (<i>s.</i>)	converse	<i>converse</i>	convers	
cronicle	cronicle	<i>chronicle</i>	cronicl	
honour	honour	<i>honour</i>	onər	716
monstre	monstre	<i>monster</i>	monstər	
nonage	nonage	<i>nonage</i>	nonej	
respondre	responden	<i>respond</i>	respond	
copie	copie	<i>copy</i>	copi	720
prophete	prophete	<i>prophet</i>	profet	

or.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
divorce	divorce	<i>divorce</i>	divòòs (divòòs)
force	force	<i>force</i>	fòòs (fòòs)
sorcerie	sorcerie	<i>sorcery</i>	sòòsəri 724
escorcher	scorchen	<i>scorch</i>	scòòch
porcioun	porcioun	<i>portion</i>	pòòshən
acord (s.)	acord	<i>accord</i>	æcòòd
corde	corde	<i>cord</i>	còòd 728
ordre	ordre	<i>order</i>	òòdər
forfeit	forfeit	<i>forfeit</i>	fòòfet
forger	forgen	<i>forge</i>	fòòj
glorie	glorie	<i>glory</i>	glòòri 732
orient	orient	<i>orient</i>	òòriənt
pork	pork	<i>pork</i>	pòòc
forme	forme	<i>form</i>	fòòm
torment	torment	<i>torment</i>	tòòmənt 736
cornere	cornere	<i>corner</i>	còònər
porpeis	porpeis	<i>porpoise</i>	pòòpəs
scorpiun	scorpioun	<i>scorpion</i>	scòòpiən
cors	cors	<i>corpse</i>	còòps 740
morsel	morsel	<i>morsel</i>	mòòsəl
desport	desport	<i>disport</i>	dispòòt
morter	morter	<i>mortar</i>	mòòtər
portal	portal	<i>portal</i>	pòòtəl 744
porte	porte	<i>port</i>	pòòt
portour	portour	<i>porter</i>	pòòtər
resortir	resorten	<i>resort</i>	rizòòt
coruner	coroner	<i>coroner</i>	coronər 748
foreste	foreste	<i>forest</i>	forest
oreison	oreison	<i>orison</i>	orizən

os—ov.

apostle	apostle	<i>apostle</i>	əposəl	
fosse	fosse	<i>fosse</i>	fos 752	
cotun	cotun	<i>cotton</i>	cotən	
pot	pot	<i>pot</i>	pot	
potage	potage	<i>pottage</i>	potej	
potel	potel	<i>pottle</i>	potl 756	
novel	novel	<i>novel</i>	novl	
province	province	<i>province</i>	provins	
provost	provost	<i>provost</i>	provəst	

o (becoming u).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
bocher	bocher	<i>butcher</i>	buchər	760
robous	robous	<i>rubbish</i>	rəbɪʃ	
boge (<i>fur</i>)	boge	<i>budge</i>	bəɟ	
sodeyne	sodein	<i>sudden</i>	sədən	
bokeler	bokeler	<i>buckler</i>	bəklər	764
sojourn	sojourn	<i>sojourn</i>	səʒən	
colur	colour	<i>colour</i>	cələr	
combair	combaten	<i>combat</i>	cəmbət	
compasser	compassen	<i>compass</i>	cəmpəs	768
somoundre	somounen	<i>summon</i>	səmən	
trompe	trompe	<i>trump</i>	trəmp	
conduyt	conduyt	<i>conduit</i>	cəndɪt	
confort	confort	<i>comfort</i>	cəmfæt	772
dongoun	dongoun	<i>dungeon</i>	dənʒən	
moneye	moneye	<i>money</i>	məni	
tonel	tonne	<i>tun</i>	tən	
sopere	sopere	<i>supper</i>	səpər	776
ajorner	ajornen	<i>adjourn</i>	ədʒən	
attorne	attorne	<i>attorney</i>	ætəni	
corelue	corlue	<i>curlew</i>	cəliu	
forbir	forbisen	<i>furbish</i>	fæbɪʃ	780
fornir	fornisen	<i>furnish</i>	fænɪʃ	
forure	fourrure	<i>fur</i>	fə	
jorneie	jorneie	<i>journey</i>	ʒəni	
norice	norice	<i>nurse</i>	nəərs	784
morine	moraine	<i>murrain</i>	məren	
botiller	botiler	<i>butler</i>	bətlər	
cotillere	cotilere	<i>cutler</i>	cətlər	
reboter	rebuten	<i>rebut</i>	ribət	788
moton	motoun	<i>mutton</i>	mətən	
sotiltee	sotiltee	<i>subtlety</i>	sətli	
covert	covert	<i>covert</i>	cəvæt	
estover (<i>s.</i>)	estover	<i>stover</i>	stəvər	792
governer	governen	<i>govern</i>	gəvən	
plover	plover	<i>plover</i>	pləvər	
recoverer	recoveren	<i>recover</i>	ricəvər	
dozeine	dozeine	<i>dozen</i>	dəzn	796

o (becoming au, etc.).

conseil	conseil	<i>counsel</i>	caunsəl	
contesse	contesse	<i>countess</i>	cauntəs	
contrepleder	contrepleden	<i>counterplead</i>	caunterpliɪd	
corone	corone	<i>crown</i>	craun	800

o (becoming au, etc.) (continued).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
monter	mounten	<i>mount</i>	maunt	
soner	sounen	<i>sound</i>	saund	
voer	vowen	<i>vow</i>	vau	
acoster	acosten	<i>accost</i>	æcòost	804
estorer	storen	<i>store</i>	stòor	
estorie	storie	<i>story</i>	stòori	
restorer	restoren	<i>restore</i>	ristòor	
ahoge	huge	<i>huge</i>	hiuuj	808
bote	bote	<i>boot</i>	buut	
fol	fol	<i>fool</i>	fuul	
mover	moven	<i>move</i>	muuv	
pover, povre	pouer (pover)	<i>poor</i>	puur	812
prover	proven	<i>prove</i>	pruuv	
reprover	reproven	<i>reprove</i>	ripruuv	
clostre, cloistre	cloistre	<i>cloister</i>	cloistær	
trofle	trofle, trufle	<i>trifle</i>	traifl	816

ō.

noble	noble	<i>noble</i>	nóubl	
robe	robe	<i>robe</i>	róub	
abrocher	abrochen	<i>broach</i>	bróuch	
abrocour	brocour	<i>broker</i>	bróucær	820
aprochier	aprochen	<i>approach</i>	æpróuch	
cloche, cloke	cloke	<i>cloak</i>	clóuc	
devocioun	devocioun	<i>devotion</i>	divóushæn	
occyane	ocean	<i>ocean</i>	óushæn	824
reprocher	reprochen	<i>reproach</i>	ripróuch	
odur	odour	<i>odour</i>	ódær	
estole	stole	<i>stole</i>	stóul	
poleter	pulter	<i>poulterer</i>	póultærær	828
soldeier	souldier	<i>soldier</i>	sóuljær	
moment	moment	<i>moment</i>	cóumænt	
conyng, conil	coning	<i>coney</i>	cóuni	
donour	donour	<i>donor</i>	dóunær	832
clos	clos	<i>close</i>	clóus	
deposer	deposen	<i>depose</i>	dipóuz	
entreposer	entrepisen	<i>interpose</i>	intærpóuz	
reposer	reposen	<i>repose</i>	ripóuz	836
coste	coste	<i>cost</i>	cóust	
ost	ost	<i>host</i>	hóust	
posterne	posterne	<i>postern</i>	póustærn	
rost, roste	rost	<i>roast</i>	róust	840

ū (continued).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
cote	cote	<i>coat</i>	cóut
notarie	notarie	<i>notary</i>	nóutəri
note	note	<i>note</i>	nóut
notice	notice	<i>notice</i>	nóutis 844

u (short).

subgit (s.)	subget	<i>subject</i>	səbject
substance	substance	<i>substance</i>	səbstəns
suburbe	suburbe	<i>suburb</i>	səbəəb
trubler	trublen, troublen	<i>trouble</i>	trəbl 848
bucle	bocle	<i>buckle</i>	bəcl
succour	succour	<i>succour</i>	səcər
destruccion	destruccion	<i>destruction</i>	distrəcshən
duche	duche	<i>duchy</i>	dəchi 852
huche	huche	<i>hutch</i>	həch
tuche (s.)	touche	<i>touch</i>	təch
bufe	buffet	<i>buffet</i>	bəfet
ajugger	ajuggen	<i>adjudge</i>	əjəj 856
jug	jug	<i>judge</i>	jəj
jugleur	juglour	<i>juggler</i>	jəglər
adulterie	adulterie	<i>adultery</i>	ədəltəri
annuller	annullen	<i>annul</i>	ənəl 860
hulke	hulke	<i>hulk</i>	həlc
nul	nul	<i>null</i>	nəl
vultur	vultur	<i>vulture</i>	vələhər
assumpcion	assumpcion	<i>assumption</i>	əsəmpshən 864
autummal	autummal	<i>autumnal</i>	ədətəmnəl
cumpainie	companie	<i>company</i>	cəmpəni
encumbrer	encumbren	<i>encumber</i>	encəmbər
humle, umble	humble	<i>humble</i>	həmbəl, əmbəl 868
nombre	nombre	<i>number</i>	nəmbər
summe	summe	<i>sum</i>	səm
tumberel	tumberel	<i>tumbril</i>	təmbriəl
juncture	juncture	<i>juncture</i>	jənəktjər 872
trunc	trunk	<i>trunk</i>	trənc
truncun	trunsoun	<i>truncheon</i>	trəncshən
uncle	uncle	<i>uncle</i>	əncəl
habundance	habundance	<i>abundance</i>	əbəndəns 876
plunger	plungen	<i>plunge</i>	plənj
cuntree	cuntree	<i>country</i>	cəntri
corruption	corruption	<i>corruption</i>	cərəpshən
cupe	cuppe	<i>cup</i>	cəp 880
desturber	desturben	<i>disturb</i>	distəəb
turbut	turbut	<i>turbot</i>	təəbət
purchas	purchas	<i>purchase</i>	pəəches

u (short) (continued).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
murdre	murdre, morder	<i>murder</i>	mæddər	884
burgeys	burgeys	<i>burgess</i>	bæəjes	
escurge	scurgē, scorge	<i>scourge</i>	scæəj	
purger	purgen	<i>purge</i>	pæəj	
burnir	burnisen	<i>burnish</i>	bæənish	888
returner	returnen	<i>return</i>	ritæən	
turner	turnen	<i>turn</i>	tæən	
purport	purport	<i>purport</i>	pæəpət	
purple	purpre	<i>purple</i>	pæəpl	892
burse	burse	<i>purse</i>	pæəs	
apurtenance	apurtenaunce	<i>appurtenance</i>	əpætenəns	
curteisie	curteisie	<i>courtesy</i>	cætezi	
curtine	cortine, curtine	<i>curtain</i>	cætən	896
hurter	hurten	<i>hurt</i>	hæt	
nurture	nurture	<i>nurture</i>	næəchər	
turtre	turtle	<i>turtle</i>	tætł	
corage	corage	<i>courage</i>	cærej	900
cusin	cosin	<i>cousin</i>	cəzn	
discussion	discussion	<i>discussion</i>	discəshən	
usser, ussher	usher	<i>usher</i>	əshər	
acustumer	acustumen	<i>accustom</i>	æcəstəm	904
custume	custome	<i>custom</i>	cəstəm	
fustain, fustiane	fustain	<i>fustian</i>	fæstien	
iustice	iustice	<i>justice</i>	jæstis	
buter	butten	<i>butt</i>	bət	908
butun	botoun	<i>button</i>	bətən	
glutun	glotoun	<i>glutton</i>	glətn	
guttere, goter	gotere	<i>gutter</i>	gətər	
luxurie	luxurie	<i>luxury</i>	ləəshuri	912
zucré	sucré	<i>sugar</i>	shugər	
bulle	bulle	<i>bull</i> (edict)	bul	
pullet	pullet	<i>pullet</i>	pulet	
pulpit	pulpit	<i>pulpit</i>	pulpit	916
busselle	busselle	<i>bushel</i>	bushəl	
acumplisen	acomplisen	<i>accomplish</i>	æcomplish	
blund (adj.)	blond	<i>blonde</i>	blond	
euvent	covent	<i>convent</i>	convənt	920
parfurnir	parfournen	<i>perform</i>	pæəfòdm	
cust, coust	cost	<i>cost</i>	còðst	
turney	tourney	<i>tourney</i>	tæəni, turni	
rubain	ruban, riban	<i>ribbon</i>	ribən	924
butor	bitoure	<i>bittern</i>	bitæən	

ū.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
acru, acruē (<i>pp.</i>)	acruē	<i>acrued</i>	æcruud
annuite	annuite	<i>annuity</i>	æniuuiti
cruelte	cruelte	<i>cruelty</i>	cruuelti 928
duel	duel	<i>duel</i>	diuuel
eschure, eschuer	eschuen	<i>eschew</i>	eschuu
suire	suen	<i>sue</i>	siuu
truān	truant	<i>truant</i>	truuānt 932
rubi	ruby	<i>ruby</i>	ruubi
crucifier	crucifien	<i>crucify</i>	cruusifai
duc	duk	<i>duke</i>	diuuc
repugner	repugnen	<i>repugn</i>	repiuun 936
humur	humour	<i>humour</i>	hiuumər
plume	plume	<i>plume</i>	pluum
rumour	rumour	<i>rumour</i>	ruumər
union	union	<i>union</i>	iuuniən 940
unite	unite	<i>unity</i>	iuuniti
cure	cure	<i>cure</i>	ciuur
endurer	enduren	<i>endure</i>	endiuur
jurour	jurour	<i>juror</i>	juurər 944
obscurer	obsuren	<i>obscure</i>	obsčiuur
excuser	excusen	<i>excuse</i>	exciuuz
nusance	nuisance	<i>nuisance</i>	niuusəns
reclus	reclus	<i>recluse</i>	recluus 948
musike	musike	<i>music</i>	miuuzic
refuser	refusen	<i>refuse</i>	refiuuz
usage	usage	<i>usage</i>	iuuzej
usure	usure	<i>usury</i>	iuuzhəri 952
conclusioun	conclusioun	<i>conclusion</i>	cæncluuzhən
confusioun	confusioun	<i>confusion</i>	cænfiuuzhən
effusioun	effusioun	<i>effusion</i>	efiuuzhən
intrusion	intrusioun	<i>intrusion</i>	intruuzhən 956
desputer	desputen	<i>dispute</i>	dispiuut
duete	duete	<i>duty</i>	diuuti
fruit	fruit	<i>fruit</i>	fruit
future	future	<i>future</i>	fiuuchər 960
muēt (<i>adj.</i>)	mute	<i>mute</i>	miuut
sute, suite	sute	<i>suit</i>	siuut
<hr/>			
cuard	couard	<i>coward</i>	cauərd
pruesce	prouesse	<i>prowess</i>	praues 964
tuaille	touaille	<i>towel</i>	tauel
vūu (<i>s.</i>)	vou	<i>row</i>	vau
cucher	couchen	<i>couch</i>	cauch
renun	renoun	<i>renown</i>	rinaun 968
renuncer	renouncen	<i>renounce</i>	rinauns
unce	ounce, unce	<i>ounce</i>	auns

ū (continued).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
abunder	abounden	<i>abound</i>	əbaund
bunder	bounden	<i>bound</i>	baund 972
rebundir	rebounden	<i>rebound</i>	ribaund
cunseil	conseil	<i>counsel</i>	caunsl
acunte (s.)	acunte	<i>account</i>	əcaunt
encuntre (s.)	encountre	<i>encounter</i>	encauntər 976
funteine	fountein	<i>fountain</i>	faunten
recunter	recounten	<i>recount</i>	ricaunt
remunter	remounten	<i>remount</i>	rimaunt
devurer	devouren	<i>devour</i>	divaur 980
flur	flour	<i>flower</i>	flauər
espuse	spouse	<i>spouse</i>	spauz
espuser	espousen	<i>espouse</i>	espauz
gute	goute	<i>gout</i>	gaut 984
rute	route	<i>rout</i>	raut
ruele	rouel	<i>rowel</i>	róuel

ANGLO-FRENCH DIPHTHONGS.

ai, ay, ae, ao.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
alaye	alaye	<i>alloy</i>	əloi
arayer	arayen	<i>array</i>	əréi 988
assai	assai	<i>assay</i>	æséi
brayer	brayen	<i>bray</i>	bréi
convayer	conveien	<i>convey</i>	cənvéi
delay	delay	<i>delay</i>	deléi 992
effrai	offray	<i>fray</i>	fréi
jay	jay	<i>jay</i>	jéi
lay	lay	<i>lay</i>	léi
paie	paye	<i>pay</i>	péi 996
praier	prayen	<i>pray</i>	préi
praye	preie	<i>prey</i>	préi
rai	ray	<i>ray</i>	réi
aide	aide	<i>aid</i>	éid 1000
waif	waif	<i>waif</i>	wéif
assailir	assailen	<i>assail</i>	æséil
bailler	baillen	<i>bail</i>	béil
bailif	bailif	<i>bailiff</i>	béilif 1004

ai, ay, ae, ao (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
entraille	entraille	<i>entrails</i>	entréils
faillir	faillen	<i>fail</i>	féil
paele	paile	<i>pail</i>	péil
quaille	quaille	<i>quail</i>	cwéil 1008
taile	taile	<i>entail</i>	entéil
taillour	taillour	<i>tailor</i>	téilor
chaîne	chaîne	<i>chain</i>	chéin
enchaener	enchainen	<i>chain, v.</i>	chéin 1012
gain (s.)	gain	<i>gain</i>	géin
grain	grain	<i>grain</i>	gréin
payne	peine	<i>pain</i>	péin
plain (s.)	plain	<i>plain</i>	pléin 1016
affaire	affaire	<i>affair</i>	aféir
aier	aier, air	<i>air</i>	éir
chaiere	chaiere	<i>chair</i>	chéir
raisin	raisin	<i>raisin</i>	réisən 1020
agait (s.)	agait	<i>await, wait</i>	wéit
caitif	caitif	<i>caitiff</i>	céitif
traitur	traitour	<i>traitor</i>	tréitor
wayte	waite	<i>wait, s.</i>	wéit 1024
guaiter	waiten	<i>wait, v.</i>	wéit
gaole	gaole	<i>gaol</i>	jeil
kaie	quay	<i>quay</i>	kii
plait, plai	plee, play	<i>plea</i>	plii 1028
traiter	traiten	<i>treat</i>	triit
paisant	(?)	<i>peasant</i>	pesənt
taille	taille	<i>tally</i>	tæli
vaillant	vaillant	<i>valiant</i>	væliənt 1032
esplait, exploit	exploit	<i>exploit</i>	exploit

au.

auditour	auditour	<i>auditor</i>	òðditér
augurer	augurer	<i>augur</i>	òðgər
avaunt	avaunt	<i>avaunt</i>	əvòənt 1036
bawde	baude	<i>bawd</i>	bòðd
braun	braun	<i>brawn</i>	bròòn
cause	cause	<i>cause</i>	còòs
daubour	daubour	<i>dauber</i>	dòòbər
hauberc	hauberk	<i>hauberk</i>	hòòbərək 1040
chauce	causee	<i>causeway</i>	còòzwei

au (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
fraude	fraude	<i>fraud</i>	fròdd
haunter	haunten	<i>haunt</i>	hòont 1044
launde	launde	<i>lawn</i>	lòon
lavender	lavender	<i>laundress</i>	laandres
gaugeour	gaugeour	<i>gauger</i>	géijər
chaunge	chaunge	<i>change</i>	chéinj 1048
graunge	graunge	<i>grange</i>	gréinj
sauver	sauven	<i>save</i>	séiv
sauvete	sauvete	<i>safety</i>	séifti
raumper	rampen	<i>ramp</i>	ræmp 1052
saumon	saumon	<i>salmon</i>	sæmən
abaundoner	abandonen	<i>abandon</i>	əbændən
avauntgarde	avauntgarde	<i>vanguard</i>	vængard
fraunkelayn	frankeleyn	<i>franklin</i>	frænklin 1056
raundoun	raundoun	<i>random</i>	rændəm
aunte	aunte	<i>unt</i>	aant
braunche	braunche	<i>branch</i>	braanch
chaunce	chaunce	<i>chance</i>	chaans 1060
chaunceler	chaunceler	<i>chancellor</i>	chaancelər
chaundeler	chaundeler	<i>chandler</i>	chaandlər
chaunt	chaunt	<i>chant</i>	chaant
remaunder	remaunden	<i>remand</i>	rimaand 1064
esclaundre	sclaundre	<i>slander</i>	slaandər

ea.

fealte	fealte	<i>fealty</i>	fiəlti
leal	leal	<i>leal</i>	liil
seal	seel	<i>seal</i>	siil 1068
dean	deen	<i>dean</i>	diin
creatur	creature	<i>creature</i>	criichər
realme	realme	<i>realm</i>	relm

ee.

degree	degree	<i>degree</i>	degrii 1072
see	see	<i>see</i>	sii
meen (<i>adj.</i>)	meen	<i>mean</i>	miin
ees, eise	eese, ese	<i>ease</i>	iiz
lees	lees	<i>lease</i>	liis 1076
pees	pees	<i>peace</i>	piis

ei, ey.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
affrei	afray	<i>affray</i>	əfréi
conveier	conveien	<i>convey</i>	cənvéi
fei (feid)	fei, fey	<i>faith</i>	féith 1080
obeier	obeien	<i>obey</i>	əbéi
purveier	purveien	<i>purvey</i>	pərvéi
veil	veile	<i>veil</i>	vél
dedeigne (s.)	dedaigne	<i>disdain</i>	disdéin 1084
demeine	demeine	<i>domain</i>	doméin
destreindre	distreinen	<i>distrain</i>	distréin
feindre	feinen	<i>feign</i>	féin
ordeiner	ordinein	<i>ordain</i>	òdédin 1088
reines	reines	<i>reins</i>	réinz
remeindre (s.)	(?)	<i>remainder</i>	reméindər
restreindre	restreinen	<i>restrain</i>	restréin
veyn	vein	<i>vain</i>	véin 1092
veyne	veine	<i>vein</i>	véin
meinprise	meinprise	<i>mainprise</i>	méinpraiz
aqueyntance (s.)	aqueyntance	<i>acquaintance</i>	əcwéintəns
ateinte	ateinte	<i>attaint</i>	ətéint 1096
compleynt	compleint	<i>complaint</i>	cəmpléint
peynt	peint	<i>paint</i>	péint
pleinte	pleinte	<i>plaint</i>	pléint
pleintif	pleintif	<i>plaintiff</i>	pléintif 1100
queynt (adj.)	queint	<i>quaint</i>	cwéint
seint	seint	<i>saint</i>	séint
<hr/>			
eise	eise	<i>ease</i>	iiz
despeir (s.)	despeir	<i>despair</i>	despeir 1104
empeirer	empeiren	<i>impair</i>	impeir
feire	feire	<i>fair</i>	feir
heire	heire	<i>heir</i>	eir
meire	meire	<i>mayor</i>	meir 1108
preiere	preiere	<i>prayer</i>	preir
repeirer	repairen	<i>repair</i>	ripeir
<hr/>			
meynour	(?)	<i>mainour, manner</i>	mænər
preiser	preisen	<i>praise</i>	préiz 1112
estreit	streit	<i>strait</i>	stréit
<hr/>			
deceit	deceit	<i>deceit</i>	desiit
receite	receite	<i>receipt</i>	resiit
seiser	seisen	<i>seize</i>	siiz 1116
seisine	seisine	<i>seisin</i>	siizin
seison, sesun	seson	<i>season</i>	siizn

ei, ey, eo (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
leisir	leisir	<i>leisure</i>	lezhər	1120
pleisir	plesure (?)	<i>pleasure</i>	plezhər	
cheys	chois	<i>choice</i>	chois	
peiser	peisen	<i>poise</i>	poiz	
veiage	viage	<i>voyage</i>	voiej	
veirdit	verdit	<i>verdict</i>	vərdiet	1124
people	people, peple	<i>people</i>	piipl	

eu.

adeu	adeu	<i>adieu</i>	ədiu	1128
beute	beute	<i>beauty</i>	biuti	
geu	jew	<i>Jew</i>	Ju	
ewere	ewere	<i>ewer</i>	iuər	
fewaile	fewaile	<i>fuel</i>	fiuel	1132
deuce	deus	<i>deuce</i>	dūs	
peutre	peutre	<i>powter</i>	piutər	
reule	reule	<i>rule</i>	ruł	
assurance	assurance (?)	<i>assurance</i>	əshuurəns	
seurte	seurte	<i>surety</i>	shuurti	
feun	fawn	<i>fawn</i>	fòon	1136

ie.

niece	nece, neice	<i>niece</i>	niis	1140
piece	pece	<i>piece</i>	piis	
chief	chief	<i>chief</i>	chiif	
grief	grief	<i>grief</i>	griif	
relief	relief	<i>relief</i>	reliif	
siege	siege	<i>siege</i>	sij	
piere	pere	<i>pier</i>	piiər	

iew, oe.

view	vew	<i>view</i>	viuu	1144
oetaves	utas	<i>utas</i>	iuutæs	

oe (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
remoever, re- mover coeverfu	removen courfew	<i>remove</i> <i>curfew</i>	remuuv kærfuu
soeffrir	suffren	<i>suffer</i>	sæfær 1148
toelle (<i>s.</i>)	toil	<i>toil</i>	toil

oi, oy.

coy	coy	<i>coy</i>	coi	
employer	emploien	<i>employ</i>	emploi	
enjoier	enjoien	<i>enjoy</i>	enjoi	1152
joie	joye	<i>joy</i>	joi	
loial	loyal	<i>loyal</i>	loiæl	
voice	vois	<i>voice</i>	vois	
voider	voiden	<i>void, v.</i>	void	1156
assoile (<i>pr. s.</i>)	assoilen	<i>assoil</i>	æsoil	
boillir	boilen	<i>boil</i>	boil	
despoiller	despoilen	<i>despoil</i>	despoil	
foille (<i>s.</i>)	foil	<i>foil</i>	foil	1160
oille, oile	oile	<i>oil</i>	oil	
soyl, soil	soil	<i>soil</i>	soil	
adjoindre	adjoien	<i>adjoin</i>	əjoin	
coign, coyng	coin	<i>coin</i>	coin	1164
enoint (<i>pp.</i>)	enoint	<i>anointed</i>	ənointed	
joindre	joinen	<i>join</i>	join	
oignement	oinement	<i>ointment</i>	ointment	
point	point	<i>point</i>	point	1168
noise	noise	<i>noise</i>	noiz	
oyster	oistre	<i>oyster</i>	oïster	
poiser	poisen	<i>poise</i>	poiz	
poison	poison	<i>poison</i>	poizn	1172
moyte	moyte	<i>moiety</i>	moiēti	
joial, juel	jowel	<i>jewel</i>	jiuel	
coilte, cuilte	quilt	<i>quilt</i>	cwilt	
coiller	cullen	<i>cull</i>	cæl	1176
oynoun	oinoun	<i>onion</i>	ənion	

ou, ow.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
toumbe	toumbe	<i>tomb</i>	tuum
alower	alouen	<i>allow</i>	əlau
avower	avouen	<i>avow</i>	əvau 1180
avoueson	avouaison	<i>advowson</i>	ədvaʊzən
bowel	bouel	<i>bowel</i>	baueɪ
dowere	douere	<i>dower</i>	daʊər
pouer	pouer	<i>power</i>	pauər 1184
voucher	vouchen	<i>vouch</i>	vauch
poudre	poudre	<i>powder</i>	paʊdər
acounte (s.)	acounte	<i>account</i>	əcaunt
amounter	amounten	<i>amount</i>	əmaunt 1188
bounte	bounte	<i>bounty</i>	baunti
counte	counte	<i>county</i>	caunti
countenance	countenance	<i>countenance</i>	cauntenəns
foundre	founden	<i>found</i> , v.	faund 1192
goune	goune	<i>gown</i>	gaun
mountaigne	mountaine	<i>mountain</i>	maunten
noun	noun	<i>noun</i>	naun
houre	houre	<i>hour</i>	aur 1196
flour	flour	<i>flour</i> , <i>flower</i>	flaʊər
tour	tour	<i>tower</i>	tauər
ouster	ousten	<i>oust</i>	aust
doute (s.)	doute	<i>doubt</i>	daut 1200
outrage	outrage	<i>outrage</i>	autreij
double	double	<i>double</i>	dəbl
frount	front	<i>front</i>	frənt
coureour	coriour	<i>courier</i>	cəriər 1204
jouste	jouste	<i>joust</i>	jəst
moustre	moustre	<i>muster</i>	məstər
enfourmer	enformen	<i>inform</i>	infəʊm
cours	cours	<i>course</i>	còðrs 1208
recours	recours	<i>recourse</i>	ricòðrs
court	court	<i>court</i>	còðrt
cloue	cloue, clowe	<i>clow</i>	cləʊv
enrouler	enrollen	<i>enroll</i>	enróul 1212
escrouet	scroue	<i>scrow</i> , <i>scroll</i>	scróul
roule	roule	<i>roll</i>	róul

ua.

assuager	assuagen	<i>assuage</i>	æswéij
----------	----------	----------------	--------

ui.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.
destruire	destruiren	<i>destroy</i>	destroi 1216
esnui (<i>s.</i>)	anoy	<i>annoy</i>	ænoi
bruiller	broilen	<i>broil</i>	broil
muiller	moillen	<i>moil</i>	moil
recuiller	recoilen.	<i>recoil</i>	ricoil 1220
<hr/>			
pui	pew	<i>pew</i>	piu

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An older form
of the
Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an angle.

Demy Octavo. 400 Copies.

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please to accept of copies with the best respects of the Editor.*

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AN OLDER FORM
OF THE
Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an angle

ATTRIBUTED TO

DAME JULIANA BARNES.

Printed from a MS. in the possession of Alfred Denison, Esq.

WITH

PREFACE AND GLOSSARY BY THOMAS SATCHELL.

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1883.





PREFACE.

THIS tract is printed from a manuscript written on five sheets of paper folded in quarto form. The leaves have been slightly cut and now measure seven and a half inches by five and a half. The paper is water-marked with a hand or glove, to the middle finger of which a six pointed star is attached by a short line. Each page contains from 22 to 25 lines closely written in a correspondence hand of the earlier half of the 15th century.

The manuscript is now in the possession of Mr. Denison of Albemarle-street and is regarded as one of the most interesting relics in his famous angling collection. To him it came from the library of Mr. Jesse at the dispersal of which by auction in November, 1868, it was sold for 45s.

The following note by Mr. Joseph Haslewood, giving its previous history as far as is known, is

now bound up with the original, and a transcript in the handwriting of the same gentleman :

“ Of this volume. The following 20 pages is the fragment of a manuscript of the earlier part of the xvth century and forms a considerable portion of the ‘little pamphlet’ first printed in the Book of St. Albans. This is the same manuscript as is noticed in the Introduction to the reprint of that volume (p. 63) as formerly in the possession of the typographical historian William Herbert who transcribed same, and that copy is there referred to as then possessed by the late Mr. Townley. The original, here preserved, passed from the possession of Herbert to Mr. Brand, and from him to the late George Isted, Esq., who presented it to me a few months before he died. It was bound with other manuscripts of less interest and value. A paginary transcript was added for the convenience of reading, wherein it will be found the letter y is occasionally substituted for the Saxon compound character þ, or th. Bound by C. Lewis, 1823. J. H.”

At the reference here given to the reprint in 1810 of the treatise attributed to Dame Juliana Barnes, Mr. Haslewood says :

“ It extends to the instructions respecting the trout, and stops with the bait to be used in September. There is the customary difference in orthography; and three instances occur of variations in the introductory matter, which may here be preserved.” (p. 63)

He then quotes the passage on our third page beginning, "Many a gyn & many a snayr he maket"; the addition on page four of the words: "and sum tyme death"; while the third variation is given as follows:

"Also whoso wol vse ye game & disporte of
anglyng, he must take hede to thys sentence of the
olde pube yt is thise vsus

Surge miser mane sq noli surger, vane

Sanctificat sanat dicat quoq surger. mane"

This passage will be found (with a difference) on our fifth page.

The "Advertisement" to Mr. Pickering's reprint of the "Treatyse of fysshynge" published in 1827, also makes mention of the manuscript and in these terms:

"The only MS. of the *Treatyse* which is known to be extant, is a fragment now in the possession of Joseph Haslewood, Esq., and which formerly belonged to Mr. William Herbert. It does not extend farther than the instructions relating to the bait for trout; and the different readings between it and the printed copies, which are very few and unimportant, are minutely given by that accurate and indefatigable reviver of old English literature in his reprint of the *Boke of St. Alban's*."

We are unaware of any other printed reference to the manuscript.

Unfortunately it is more imperfect than has hitherto been noticed. True, it breaks off among the baits for the trout, but four of the earlier pages are also wanting. All these missing passages are here supplied from the printed "Treatyse" and are those on pp. 9-15, 23-37 enclosed within square brackets.

The differences between the treatise as given in this MS. and as printed in the "Book of St. Albans," are more important than the above statements would lead us to believe. They extend not only to the orthography but equally to the phrase, and in very many places to the sense also. That it is an independent text cannot be doubted, and in this opinion we are supported by the high authority of the Rev. Professor Skeat, who is inclined to assign it an earlier date than 1450. Though probably an older form of the treatise printed at Westminster in 1496, it is drawn from the same original, which, wherever it first came from, was at that time written in our language. The close correspondence in many passages forbids the idea that the two versions were independent translations from another tongue. Originally from the French it may have been.

The "Book of St. Albans," as Professor Skeat remarks, "is a mere hash-up of something much older. Most of the hawking and hunting is a translation of the *Venerie de Twety* of the time of Edward II. This appears from Halliwell and Wright's *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, where another English translation of the same original is given." These treatises, we may observe, are for the most part simply a collection of recipes, and do not present the complete and systematic form of the treatise on fishing.

The present treatise is written in the ordinary dialect of the neighbourhood of London—the usual literary dialect of the day. In this respect it does not differ from the version already printed.

We have carefully preserved its orthography, including such mistakes of the scribe as *thinhe* for *thinge*, &c., and its punctuation. Here and there a word is scarcely distinguishable, and occasionally one has been docked by the binder, but the MS. is well preserved and the writing is by no means difficult to read; so that if any mistakes have escaped the five or six revisions we have given the text, we must bear the blame.

The abbreviations have been extended in all

instances and the omitted letters given in italic. The thorn letter þ, and middle English ȝ, have been used whenever they occur. Only the final *e* when (possibly) expressed by a curve in the tail of the preceding letter, has been always ignored. When we found that the Latin words *labor* and *surgere* were written with the same twist over the top of the *r*, in one case meaning *e* and in the other meaning nothing, we abandoned the attempt to distinguish between the writer's flourishes of design and his flourishes of caprice. The distinct sound of the final *e* had passed out of use when the manuscript was written. The curve may be held in the light of a survival, and though the writer may have intended to add *e* to 'or' and 'mor,' &c, the letter in that position had then no more phonetic value than it has now.

That more than one treatise on fishing was in existence at the time the present one was written, and that these were of foreign origin, may be inferred from the remarks of the writer when treating of the Carp, of which "there ben but fewe in Englande." He, or she (assuming a Dame Juliana) proceeds: "therefore I wryte the lasse of hym. . . As touchynge his baytes I

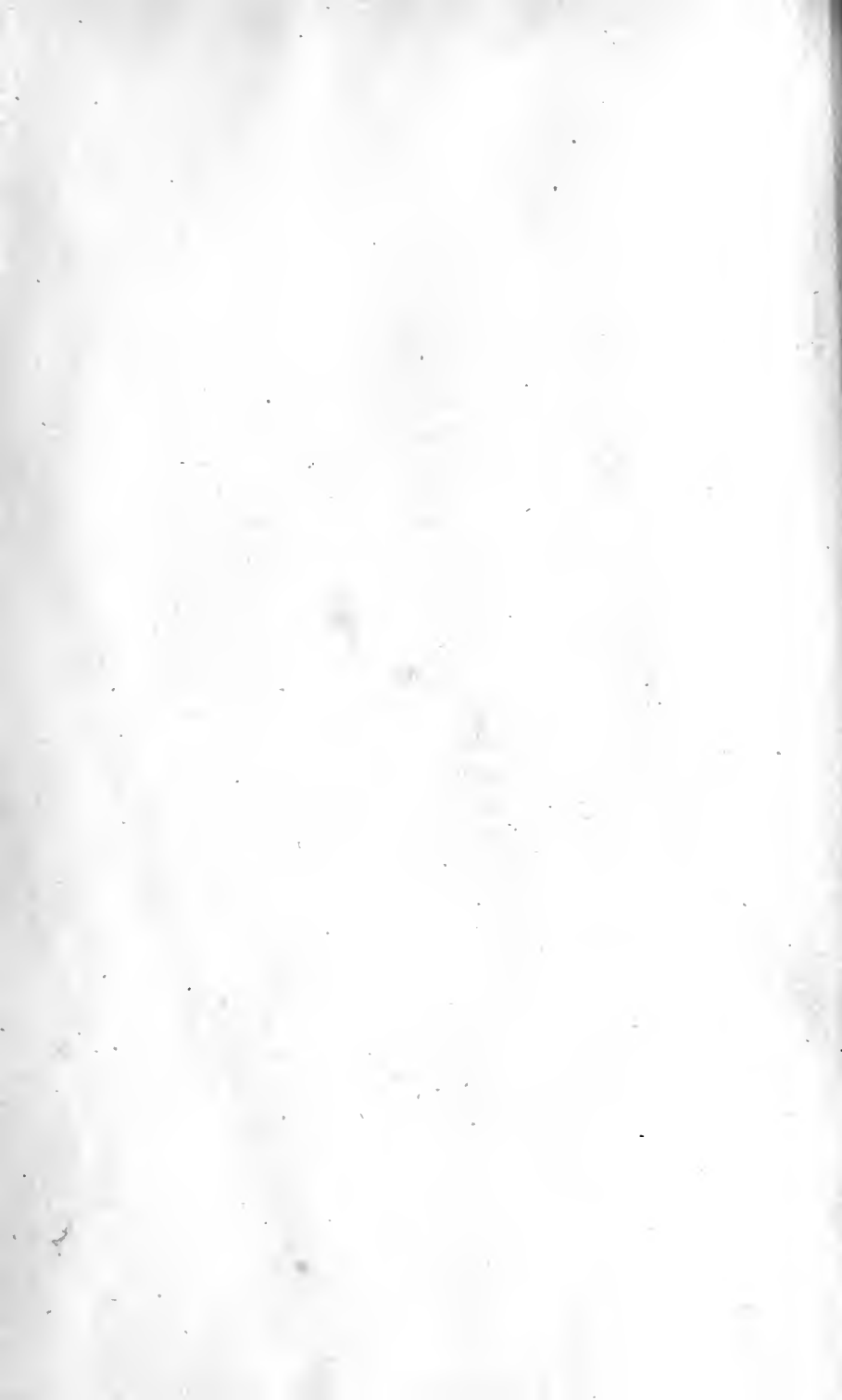
haue but lytyll knowlege of it . . . but well I wote that the redde worme and the menow ben good batys for hym at all tymes as I haue herde saye of persones credyble & also founde wryten in bokes of credence."

Some of these "bokes of credence" may still be extant, unnoticed among the manuscripts of Continental libraries. The more likely, seeing that, enthusiastic fishers as are the French, the literary side of the sport has scarcely presented itself to that practical people. Perhaps some one may be incited to search among the tracts on "Venerie," for in their company may some on fishing yet be found.

We cannot conclude without expressing our thanks for the valuable aid rendered by the Rev Professor Skeat in the preparation of the Glossary that follows the text.

T. S.

Downshire Hill,
August 8, 1883.



Saloman in hys *paraboles* seith ^{that} þat a glad
 spirit maket a ^{flourishing} flowryng age That ys to
 sey a feyre age & a longe and sith hyt ys
 so I aske ^{this} þis questyon wyche bynne ^{the means} þe menys &
 cause to reduse a man to a mery spryte Truly vn
 to my symple discrecion it semyth me good &
 honest dysportes and games in wyche a mans hert
 joythe ^{with} owt any repentans Than ^{this} þis folowythe
 þat good & honeste dysportes by cause of ^{men's} mennys
 fare age and longe lyfe Therfor now will y cheys
 of iiij good dysportes and honest gamys þat ys to
 sey of huntyng haukyng fowlyng and fyschyng
 namely anglyng ^{with} a rod or a yarde a lyne and
 a hoke and ^{per} of to treyt as my sympulnes may
 suffice boith for the seyde reson of Salomon and
 also for the reson of physyke mayd yn þis wyse

Si tibi deficiant medici medici tibi fiant

Hec tria mens leta labor & moderata dieta

That ys to sey yf a man lak leches or medicens he
 schall make iiij thynges hys medicens or leches and
 he schall neuer neyd to mo The fyrst of them ys
 mery thought The ^{other} ij^d is labur mesurably The
 ij^d ys good dyet of cleyn metes & drynkes sesenable

Fyrst ^{then} þen yf a man wyl be mery & haue a glad
 spryspryt he must eschew all *contraryus companye*
 and all places of debates and stryves wher he myzt ^{might}
 haue occasyon of malencoly and yf he wyl haue
 a labour not outrages. he must the orden hym to hys
 hertes plesens *with* owt stody ^{pensiveness} pensifulnes or trauel
 a mery occupacion wyche may reioyse hys hert
 and hys spryt in honest maner and yf he wyl dyet
 hym selfe mesurably he must eschew all places of
 ryot wiche is cause of surfettes and seknes and he
 must draw hym to a place of sweet eyr and hungre
 & ete norysching metes & defyabul ^{digestible} Y wyl
 now dyscryve theseyd ^{may} *iiij* or disportes and gamysto
 fend the best of them as wyll as y can. All be
 it ^{that the} þat þe ryzght nobul Duke of Yorke late calde
 master of the game hathe dyscryved the myrthes
 of huntynge lyke as y thynke to scryue of it and
 all ^{the} þe other ^{the} þe greuys For huntynge as to myne
 entent is to gret labour The hunter must all day
 renne & folow hys howndes travelyng & swetyng
 ful soyr he blowythe tyl hys lypmys blyster and
 wen he wenyt hyt be a hare fuloften hit ys a
 heyghoge thus he chaset and wen he cummet
 home at even. reyn beton ^{sore} seyr prykud *with* thornes
 and hys clothes tornes wet schod, ^{very} fulwy, sum of
 hys howndes lost som ^{scant sore} surbaited, suche grevys &

meny ^{ther}oper to the hunter hapeth wiche for
 displeous of hem ^{displeaseth}pat louyth hyt I dare not report
 all. Trewly me semyt ^{that}pat pis ys not the best
 disport and game of the seyd iiij^{or}.

Hawkyng

Thys disporte and game of hawkyng is laborous
 and ryght noyous also as me semyth & it is very
 trowthe. The fawkner often tymes leseth ^{trouble some}hys
 hawkes ^{the}pe hunter hys houndes ^{then}pen all hys disporte
 ben gon and don Full often he cryethe & ^{where is}wystel
 tyl he be sor a thyrst hys hawke taket a bowe
 and list not onys to hym reward wen he wolde
 haue her for to fle The ^{whole}wyl sche baythe ^{the}wit
 mysfedyng ^{then}pen schall sche haue the frounce ^{the}pe
 Rey ^{she}pe Cray and many ^{or her}oper seknes ^{that}pat brynget
 hur to ^{the}pe souce theise me semyth be good ^{the}profet
 but the be not ^{the}pe best gamys of the seyd iiij^{or}.

Fowlyng

The disporte and game of fowlyng me semyth
 most symplvest for yn the season of somer ^{the}pe
 fowler spedyt not But yn ^{the}pe most herde & colde
 wedyre he is soyr greved for he wolde go to hys
 gynnes he may not for colde many a gyn and
 many a snayr he maket & mony he leset, yn ^{to see}pe
 mernyng he walket yn the dew he goyth also
 wetschode and soyr a colde to dyner by the morow

and *sum* tyme to bed or he haue wyl sowpud for any thyng *þat* he may geyt by fowlyng. Meny other syche y can rehers but my ^{ill will} magy^{ll} or angre maket me to leyf Thys me semyth ^{that} *þat* huntynghaukyng and fowlyng be so laborous & greuous *þat* non of them may *performe* to enduce a man to a mery spryzt ^{the} *þe* wyche is cause of longe lyfe acordyng to the seyde parabol of Salomon.

Fyschyng

Dowtles then *folowyth* it ^{that} *þat* it must nedys be ^{the} *þe* disporte and game of fyschyng *with* an angl rode for all ^{other} *maner* of fyschyng is also ryght labure and greuous often causyng men to be ryght ^{was} weyth and colde wyche mony tymes hathe be seyn the cheyf cause of infyrmyte and *sum* tyme deythe. But the angleer may haue no colde ne no disese ne angur but he be causer hymselfe for he may not gretly lose but a lyne or an hoke of wyche he may hayf plente of hys owyne makyng or of ^{other} *oper* mens as thys sympul tretes schall teche hym so then hys loste ys no greuous. And ^{other} *oper* greuous may he haue non But yf any fysche breke a wey from hym wen he is vp on ^{that} *hys* hoke in londyng of the same fych or els *þat* ys to sey *þat* he cache not ^{the} *þe* wiche be no greyt greuous For yf he fayl of on he may not faylle of a ^{nother} *noþer* yf he do as thys

tretes folowys schall yn forme hym but yf ^{per} ben
 non yn ⁱⁿ þe watur wer he schall angul and ^{get} zet at þe
 leste he schall haue hys holsom walke & mery at
 hys own ease and also meny a sweyt eayr of ^{dwel} dyuers
 erbis & flowres þat schall make hyt ryght hongre
 & well disposud in hys body he schall heyr þe
 melodyes melodious of þe ^{the} Ermony of ^{Housman} bryde he
 schall se also þe ^g zong swannys & signetes folowyng
 per Eyroures Duckes Cootes herons & many ^{þat} oþer
 fowlys ^{with} þe ^{their} brodys wyche me semyt better
 þen all þe noyse of houndes & blastes of hornes &
 oþer ^{that} gamys þat fawknars & hunters can make or
 els ^{þat} þe games þat fowlers can make and yf þe
 angler take þe ^{the} fysche hardly þen ys ^{þen} per no man
 meryer þen he is in hys sprites. Also whoso wol
 vse þe game and disporte of angleyng he muste
 take hede to thys sentence of the olde prouerbe
 þat is thise *versus*

Surge miser mane *set* noli surgere vane

Sanctificat sanat ditat quoque surgere mane
 This is to sey he must ryse erly þe ^{the} wiche þing ys
 ryght prophetabul to man yn thys wyse On is
 for helthe of the sowyl for hyt schall cause a
 man to be holy yf ^{shall} euer he schall be wel set to God.
 The ijd cause is it schall cause bodely helthe and
 schall cause hym to lyfe longe The iij^d hyt

schall cause hym to be ryche wordly and gostly
 yn goodys & goodnes ^{these} þus haue y proued in
 myne entent þat the disporte of angelynge is the
 very meyn ^{that} þat causeth a man to be mery spyryt
 wyche aftur ^{the} þe sayd parabol of Salomon and the
 doctrine of physyke maket a flowryng age and
 longe lyfe and þerfor to all þo ^{so that} þat be vertuose
 gentyle & freborne I wryte þis sympul tretres
 folowyng by the wiche ^{the} ze may haue ^{the} þe ful crafte
 of angelyng to sport ^{your} zow with at ^{your} zowr luste to the
 yntent þat zowr age may be mör flour and þe
 longur endur Then yf ye wyll be crafte yn
 angelyng ye muste furst lurne to mak ^{your} zowr
 harnes þat ys to sey your rod your lynys of
 dy[uers] colors & your hokes after þat ye must
 know how ze schall angel & yn wat places of the
 watur how depe & wat tyme of the daye for wat
 maner of fysche in wath wedur how many
 Impedimen[ts] þer ben yn anglyng and especially
 with wat bayt to euery ^{diuers} dyuerse fysche yn yche
 moneth in þe ^{the} zer how ze schall make ^{your} zowr baytes
 brede wher ye schall fynde þem & how ze schall
 fynde them & how ze schall kepe þem and for þe
 most crafty ^{the} þyng how ye schall make your hokes
 of steyl & of osmonde som for ^{from} þe to dub & som
 for ^{the} þe flote as ye schall her aftur all þese ze schall

fynd expressed openly to your ye.

How ye schall make *zowr* rode

And how *ze* schall make *your* Rodde craftely I
 schall tell *zow* ye schall kytte betwene Mychelmas
 and Candulmas a feyr staf evyn of a vj fote long
 or mor as ye lyst of hasill wilowe or aspe and
 beke hem in a ovyn when ye bake & set hym
 evy[n] ryght as ye can make hym þen let hym
 cole & drye a fowr wykes or mor Then take &
 bynd hym fast *with* a good corde vn to a forme
 or to an evyn squar tree & þen take a plumars
 wyr þat is evyn & strong & scharpe at þe oon ende
 þen hete the scharpe ende in a charcol fyr tyl hyt
 be hote & pers þe stafe *per* *with* thorow þe pith
 of the seyde stafe Fyrste at þe oon ende & sithen
 at þe other tyll hyt be thorow & then take a bryd
 spytte & bryn hym as ye seme tyll it be to thyne
 entente in a *maner* as a tapur of wax & wax hym
 then let hym ly styll two days *after* tyl hyt be
 thorow colde tan vn bynde hym & let hym drye
 yn a smoke howse or yn a howsroyf tyl hyt be
 thorow drye In *þe* same seysen take a yarde of
 white hasil & beth hym even & streighte & let
 hym drye yn *þe* same wyse as hyt ys seyde of the
 stafe and wen they be drye make þe yarde mete
 vn to the hole of the seyde stafe yn to þe halfe

stafe lynket lyngh and to performe ^{the} þe other halfe of ^{the} þe cropp. Take a feyr schoyt of blake thorne crabtre medeler or geneper cut yn þe same sesun and wyl bethed and streyght & bynd hem to gydur fetely so þat þe cropp may justly entur all in to þe seyð hole then schauē the stafe and make hyt tapur wyys waxing þen virell þe staff wel at bothe endys *with* hopy of yren or laten *with* a pyke yn þe neper ende festnyed *with* a remevyng vise to take in & owt þe cropp. Then set your crop an honful *with* yn þe ovir ende of zowr stafe in suche wyse þat it be also bigge ther as any other place a bove. Than arme zowr crop at þe ovir ende down to the frete *with* a lyn of vi herys & double the lyne & frete hyt fast yn þe top *with* a nose to fasten an your lyne and þus schall ye make yow a rode so perfet & fete þat ze may walke *per with* and þer schall no man wyt wer a bowt ye go and hyt wyl be lyzt & nemyll to fysche *with* at yowr plesur & devyce.

To colour your lynes

Aftur þat ye haue made zowr rodde ye must lern to colour your lynys of heyr in þys wise. First ye must take of a wyht hors tayle þe lengest her þat may be had & ^{over} ~~eu~~er the rounder þe better it is & when ye haue departyd it at vi partes þen coler

euery parte by hyt selfe in dyuers colers as yn to yelow Grene Broune Tawny Russet and duskyn colour Furst to make *zowr zelo* here Take smale ale a potell and stamp it *with* iij handful of walnot levys and a quarter of alom & put them all to gedur in a bras panne & boyle hem wel to gedur & wen hyt ys colde put yn ^{in yowr} *zowr* heyr þat ye wyll haue *zelow* tyl hyt be as dyrk as ye wyl heue it & þen take hyt owte.

To make grene colour

Ye schall take smal ale þe quantyte of a quarte & put it yn a lytul panne and put *þer* to halfe lb alom & do *zowr* here *þer* to & let hyt boyl halfe a nowyr Then take *zowr* here & let hyt drye þan take a potell of watur and put hyt yn a panne & put *þer* to of welde or waxen ii^{to} handful & presse hyt down *with* a peyse and let hyt boyle softly halfe a nowyr and wen hyt *zelow* in the skome put *þer* yn yowr here and *þer* with halfe a lb of coperose wel beton yn to poudur & let it boyle halfe a myle wey and then set hyt down & let it coyl v or vi owres & then take owt *your* here & let hyt drye & *þer* ye schall haue þe best greyn þat may be for the watur and þe moyr þat *ze* put to of the coperas the grener hyt wyl be.

[¶ A nother wyse ye maye make more bryghter

grene, as thus Lete woode your heer in an woodefatte a lyght plunket colour And thenne sethe hym in olde or wyxin lyke as I haue sayd : sauynge ye shall not put therto neyther coporose ue vertgrees. ¶ For to make your heer yelowdyght it wyth alym as I haue sayd before. And after that wyth oldys or wyxin wythout coporose or vertgrees. ¶ A nother yelow ye shal make thns. Take smalle ale a potell : and stampe thre handful of walnot leues and put togider : And put in your heer tyll that it be as depe as ye woll haue it. ¶ For to make russet heer. Take stronge lye a pynt and halfe a pounce of sote and a lytyll iuce of walnot leuys and a quarte of alym : and put theym alle togyder in a panne and boylle theym well. And whan it is colde put in youre heer tyll it be as derke as ye woll haue it. ¶ For to make a browne colour. Take a pounce of sote and a quarte of ale : and seth it wyth as many walnot leuys as ye maye. And whan they wexe blacke sette it from the fire. And put therin your heer and lete it lye styll tyll it be as browne as ye woll haue it.

¶ For to make a nother browne. Take stronge ale and sote and tempre them togyder. and put therin your heer two dayes and two nyghtes and

it shall be ryght a good colour.

¶ For to make a tawney colour. Take lyme and water & put theym togyder : and also put your heer therin foure or fyue houres. Thenne take it out and put it in a Tanners ose a day : and it shall be also fyne a tawney colour as nedyth to our purpoos ¶ The syxte parte of your heer ye shall kepe styll whyte for lynes for the dubbyd hoke to fysshe for the tought and graylynge : and for smalle lynes for to rye for the roche and the darse.

Whan your heer is thus colourid : ye must knowe for whiche waters and for whyche seasons they shall serue. ¶ The grene colour in all clere water rom Apryll tyll Septembre. ¶ The yelow colour in eury clere water from Septembre tyll Nouembre : For is is lyke þe wedys and other manere grasse whiche growyth in the waters and ryuers whan they ben broken. ¶ The russet colour seruyth all the wynter vnto the ende of Apryll. as well in ryuers as in poles or lakys ¶ The browne colour seruyth for that water that is blacke dedisse in ryuers or in other waters. ¶ The tawney colour for those waters that ben hethy or morysshe.

Now must ye make youre lynes in this wyse.

Fyrste loke that ye haue an Instrument lyke vnto this fygure portrayed folowyng. Thenne take your heer & kytte of the smalle ende an hondfull large or more, For it is neyther stronge nor yet sure. Thenne torne the toppe to the taylle eueryche ylyke moche. And departe it in to thre partyes. Thenne knytte euery part at the one ende by hymself. And at the other ende knytte all thre togyder : and put þe same ende in that other ende of your Instrument that hath but one clyft. And sett that other ende faste wyth the wegge foure fyngers in alle shorter than your heer. Thenne twyne euery warpe one waye & ylyke moche : and fasten theym in thre clystes ylyke streyghte. Take thenne out that other ende and twyne it that waye that it woll desyre ynough. Thenne streyne it a lytyll : and knytte it for vndoyng : and that is good. And for to knowe to make your Instrument : loo here it is in fygure. And it shall be made of tree sauynge the bolte vnderneath : whiche shall be of yren.

Whan ye haue as many of the lynkys as ye suppose wol suffyse for the length of a lyne : thenne must ye knytte theym togyder wyth a water knotte or elles a duchys knotte. And whan your knotte is knytte : kytte of þe voyde shorte

endes a strawe brede for the knotte. Thus shal ye make youre lynes fayr & fyne : and also ryght sure for ony manere fysshe. ¶ And by cause that ye sholde knowe bothe the water knotte & also the duchys knotte : loo theym here in fygure caste vnto the lyknesse of the draughte.

Ye shall vnderstonde that the moost subtyll & hardyste crafte in makynge of your harnays is for to make your hokis. For whoos makynge ye must haue fete fyles, thyn and sharpe & smalle beten : A semy clām of yren : a bender : a payr of longe & smalle tongys : an harde knyfe som deale thicke : an anuelde : & a lytyll hamour. ¶ And for smalle fysshe ye shall make your hokes of the smalest quarell nedlys that ye can fynde of stele, & in this wyse. ¶ Ye shall put the quarell in a redde charkcole fyre tyll that it be of the same colour that the fyre is. Thenne take hym out and lete hym kele : and ye shal fynde him well alayd for to fyle. Thenne reyse the berde wyth your knyfe, and make the poynt sharpe. Thenne alaye hym agayn : for elles he woll breke in the bendyng. Thenne bende hym lyke to the pende fyguryd hereafter in example. And greeter nokes ye shall make in the same wyse of gretter nedles : as broderers nedlis : or taylers : or

shomakers nedlis spere poyntes, & of shomakers nalles in especyall the beste for grete fysshe. and that they bende atte the poynt whan they ben assayed, for elles they ben not good. ¶ Whan the hoke is bendyd bete the hynder ende abrode : & fyle it smothe for fretynge of thy lyne. Thenne put it in the fyre agayn : and yeue it an easy redde hete. Thenne sodaynly quenche it in water : and it woll be harde & stronge. And for to haue knowlege of your Instrumentes : lo theym here in figure portrayd. ¶ Hamour. Knyfe. Pynsons. Cla^m Wegge. Fyle. Wreste. & Anuelde.

Whan ye haue made thus your hokis : thenne must ye set theym on your lynes acordynge in gretnesse & strength in this wyse. ¶ Ye shall take smalle redde silke. & yf it be for a grete hoke thenne double it : not twynyd. And elles for smale hokys lete it be synge : & therwyth frette thycke the lyne there as the one ende of your hoke shal sytte a strawe brede. Thenne sette there your hoke : & frette hym wyth the same threde ^{pe} two partes of the lengthe that shall be frette in all. And whan ye come to the thyrd parte thenne torne the ende of your lyne agayn vpon the frette dowble. & frette it so dowble that

other thyrde parte. Thenne put your threde in at the hose twys or thries & lete it goo at eche tyme rounde abowte the yerde of your hoke. Thenne wete the hose & drawe it tyll that it be faste. And loke that your lyne lye euermore wythin your hokys : & not without. Thenne kytte of the lynys ende & the threde as nyghe as ye maye : sauynge the frette.

Now ye knowe wyth how grete hokys ye shall angle to euery fysshe : now I woll tell you]

Wyth how many herys ye schall angle *with*
for euery fysche

Fyrst for the menewes *with* a lyne of on heyr for þe wexen Roche the bleke and the gogyn & þe Roffe *with* a lynne of ii herys For the Dare & þe greyt Roche *with* a lyne of iij herys For the perche the flounder þe breme *with* a lyne of iiij herys For the cheven chobe the tenche the Ele *with* a lyne of vj herys For þe trowyt the grelyng and þe barbyl and þe greyt cheven *with* a lyne of ix herys For þe gret Trowt þe grelyng & þe perche *with* a lyne of xij herys. For a Samon *with* xv For the pyke ye schall take a good fyne lyne of pak thryde made yn *maner* of a chalke lyne made browne *with* your colour as ys a for seyd enarmyd *with* wyre for bytyng a

sundure your lynys must be plomed *with* leyd and þe next plume to the hoke schall be ther from a large fote & more and euery plumbe of quantite of þe gretnes of the lyne. þer be iij maner of plumbyng Fyrst for a grond lyne rennyng and for the floyt set vppon the grounde lyne lying a x plumys rennyng all to gedur. On þe gronde lyne lying a xx or x smale plumbes For þe floote plumbe hym so hevy þat þe lest plope of any fysche may pluke hym doune yn to þe watur And make hym rounde & smothe þat þei fast not on stones or weedys wyche wolde let yow gretly in your disporte of angelynge.

How ye schall make your flotes.

Ye schall make zowr flotes in þys wise Take a feyr corke yat ys clene *with* oute many hoolys boyr hyt þorow *with* a smale hoyt yrn & put þer yn a penne at þe gretter hoole Then schap hem yn maner of a dove egge lesse and mor os ze wylle & make hem smothe a pon a gynston And your floyt for on heyr be no bygger a pese for ij herys as a beyn for xij heres as a walnot and so forthe euery lyne aftur hys gretnes All maner of lynes must haue a floyt to angle *with* saue only þe gronde lyne and the rernyng ground lyne must haue a floote The lying ground lyne

with ovtē floyte

How many maner of anglynges

þat þer bene.

Now I haue lerned zow to make *your* hernes now
 wyll I tell zow how ye schall vnderstende þat þer
 be vj maner of anglyng Oon is at þe grounde
 for þe troute A nother at þe grounde at an arche
 of a brydge or at a stondyng wer hyt ebbethe or
 flowethe for bleke Roche and Dare. The iij^d is
 with owt floote for all maner of fychē The iiijth
 with a mener for the troute with owte plumbe or
 floote the same maner of Roche and Darse with
 a lyne of i or ij herys batyd with a flye The vth
 is with a dubbed hooke for the troute & gralyng
 and for the principall poynt of anglyng kepe you
 euer from þe watur and from þe syzt of fychē fer
 on the londe or els be hynde a busche or a tre
 þat þe fysche see yow not for yf he do he wyl
 not bytte and loke ye shadow not the watur as
 moche as ye may for hyt ys a thynhe wyche wyl
 a fray þe fychē and yf he be a frayd he wyl not
 byt a good while aftur For all maner of fychē
 þat fedyt by the grownde ye schall angle to hym
 in the myddes of the watur & som deyl moyr be
 neythe þen a boue for euer þe greter fychē the
 ner he lythe þe boten of þe watur and the smaler

fycche comenly swymmyth a bove The vj^d good poynte ys when ye fycche byteth *þat* ȝe be not to hasty to smyt hym nor to late Ye must a byde tyll ye suppose *þat* þe bayte and the hoke be welle yn the mouthe of the fycche and then stryke hym and þys ys for the grounde and for the flook wen ȝe bey thynke hyt pulled softely vndur the watur or els caryed vpon þe watur softly then smyte hym and se *þat* ȝe neuer ouer smyt þe strynght of ȝowr lyne for brekyng and yf he hap to stryke a gret fycche *with* a smayl lyne ye must leyd hym in the watur and labur þer tyll he be ouercome and weryd Than take hym as well as ye may and be war *þat* ȝe holde not ouer þe strynght of ȝowr lyne and yf ȝe may yn any wyse let not hym on at the lynes ende stregiht from ȝow but kepe hym euer þe rod and euer holde hym streight So *þat* ȝe may susteyn hys lepys & hys plumbes *with* the helpe of yowr honde.

In wat place is best angleyng.

Her y wyll declar in wat places of the watur ye schall angle to yowr best spede ye schall angle yn a pole or yn a stondyng watur yn euery place *þer* it is any þyng depe *þer* is no grete choyse in a pole for it is but a pryson to fysche and þei lyve moste parte in pryson and hungre as a

prisoner *þer* for it is *þe* lesse mastry to take hym
 But in rewarde ye schall angle euery place wher
 it is depe and clere by *þe* grounde as grauel or
 clay *with* owten mudde or wedes and especiall yf
þer be a werly wherly pyt of watur or a couerte
 as an holow banke or greyt rottes of treys or long
 wedys flotyng a boue *þe* watur wher *þe* fysche
 may couer hym at dyuerse tymes Also in depe
 stiff stremys and yn falles of watur and weeres
 flode gates and mylle pittes and weyr *þe* watur
 restith by the banke & *þe* streme renneyth nye
þer by and ys dep & clere by the grounde and yn
 oþer places wher he may se any fycche howvyng
 and fede a bove.

Wat tyme of *þe* day is best to angleyng.
 Ye schall wete *þe* best tyme is to angle from the
 be gynnyng of May vn to Septembre the bytyng
 tyme ys erly by the morow from iiij at cloke vn to
 viij At aftur none from iiij vn to viij but not
 so good as is in *þe* morow And yf hyt be a
 colde westeling wynde and a darke lowryng
 day þan wyl *þe* fysche commynly bite all day
 For a darke day is moche betur þen any oþer
 cleyr wedur from the be gynnyng of September
 vn to *þe* ende of Apryle spare no tyme of the day
 Also mony poyl fysche wyl bytte beste yn none

tyme and yf ye se any tyme of the day þe trowyt or the graylyng lepe angle to hym *with* a dub accordyng to the same moneth And wer the watur ebbyt and flowythe þe fysche wyll bite in some place at þe floode all after þat þei haue restyng by hynd pilys or arches of briggs and oþer suche places

In wat wedur is best angleyng
Ye schall angle as y seyde be for in darke lowryng wedur when the wynde blowethe softly and yn somer season when hyt ys brennyng hote It is from September vn to Apryl and yn a feyr sonne day ys good to angle in And yf the wynde þat sesan haue any parte of þe oriente northe þe wetur þen ys good and wen hyt ys a greyt wynde when hyt ys snowyt reynet or haylyth thonderyt or lightneth or also miuyng hoit þat ys not to angle

The xij Impedymentes

Wyche cause men to take no fyche *with* oute oþir commyn causes wyche may casuelly hap The fyrst yf yowr harnes be not good and well made The ij^d is yf ye angle not yn bytyng tyme The iij^d yf þe fyche be a frayde *with* ye syst of any man The iiijth yf þe watur be wery thilke whitte or redde as bye of any floyd falle

late The v^d yf the fychē styr not for colde or feyr The vi^{te} is if þe watur be wery hote. The vijth yf it reyne The viijth yf hyt hayl or snowe The ix yf þer be any tempest of any veþer The x yf hyt be a greyt wynde by any coste The xij yf hyt be by the northe or north est or sowthe est for commenly neþer by wynter nor by somer yf þe wynde haue any parte of þys costes the fysche wyll not commynly byte ne styre The weste and þe sowthe be ryght good zet of þe two þe sowth is þe bettur

Baytes to angle *with*.

And now y haue tolde yow how to make zowr harnes and how ze schall fysche þer *with* then reson wyll þat ye know *with* wat baytys ye schall angle to euery maner freche watur lyche in euery moneth of þe zer whiche ys pryncipall effecte of þys disport of angleyng *with* owt wyche baytys knowen all zowr craftes heyr a foyr wryton a wailleth litull or nowzt to þe porpos for ye cannot brynge a hoke to a fychē mouthe but yf þer be mete ther on to hys plesur.

Bayt for þe samonde.

And for þe cause þe samond ys þe most goodly fychē þat man may angle to in fresche watur þer for I porpos to be gynne *with* hym The samond

ys a gentyl fyche but he ys cumburs to take for
commynly he ys but yn ryght dep waturs and
greyt Ryueres and for the moyr parte he holdet
þe mydul of þe streym þat a man may not cum
to hym easly and he ys in season from þe moneth
of Marche vn to Mychelmas In wyche seson ye
schall angul to hym with þys baytes when þey
may be had fyrst with a bleke like as ye do to þe
trowt with a menowe and with a red worme in
þe begynnyng and þe endyng of þe seyde season
and also with a worme þat bredyt yn a donghyll
and especially with a souerent bayt þat bredyt yn
þe watur sokul but hyt bydyt not at þe grounde
but at þe ffoot. Also ye may hap to take hym
but hyt ys seldim seyn with a dub at hys leping
lyke as ye do a trowyt or a gralyng

For þe Trowte.

The trowyt ys a deyntet fyche & a fre bytyng he
ys in þe season as þe season ys he wyl not be but
yn cleyn grauel grounde watur and yn a streme
and ye may angle to hym at all tymys with a
grownde lyne lying and rennyng sauynge yn
lepyng tyme a þen with a dubbe and erly wyth
a erly grounde lyne and forþer moyr yn þe day
with a floyt lyne ye schall angle to hym marche
with a menew hangud by sowr hoke. by þe neþer.

lyp *with* owt floote or plumbe drawyng vp & down in þe streym tyll ze feyl hym fast. In þe same seson angle to hym *with* a grownde lyne *with* a red worme for þe mor sur In Apryle take þe same baytes also þe same seson take a pryde also þe canker wyche bredyt in a doke royt and þe red snayl In May take a ston flye and þe bub vndur þe cow torde and the dor worme and a bayt þat bredyth on a pyne tre lefe In June take þe red worme & nyp of þe hed & put on þe hoke a codworme by foyr In Julye take þe litle red worme and þe codworme to gedur In August take þe flye þe lytyl red worme the herlesoke & bynde þe hooke. In September take þe red worme & þe meneys. In Octobre take þe same for þey be especiall baytes for þe trowyt all tymys.

[From Aprill tyll Septembre þe trough lepyth. thenne angle to hym with a dubbyd hoke acor-dyng to the moneth, whyche dubbyd hokys ye shall fynde in thende of this treatyse ; and the monethys wyth theym. :

The grayllynge by a nother name callyd vmbre is a delycyous fysshe to mannys mouthe. And ye maye take hym lyke as ye doo the thought. And thyse ben his baytes. ¶ In Marche & in

Apryll the redde worme. ¶ In May the grene worme : a lytyll breyled worme : the docke canker. and the hawthorn worme. ¶ In June the bayte that bredyth betwene the tree & the barke of an oke. ¶ In Juyl a bayte that bredyth on a fern leyf : and the grete redde worme. And nyppe of the hede : and put on your hoke a codworme before. ¶ In August the redde worme : and a docke worme. And al the yere after a redde worme.

The barbyll is a swete fysshe, but it is a quasy meete & a peryllous for mannys body. For comynly he yeuyth an introduxiō to þe Febres And yf he be eten rawe : he maye be cause of mannys dethe : whyche hath oft be seen. Thyse be his baytes. ¶ In Marche & in Apryll take fayr fresshe chese : and laye it on a borde & kytte it in small square pecys of the lengthe of your hoke. Take thenne a candyl and brenne it on the ende at the poynt of your hoke tyll it be yelow. And thenne bynde it on your hoke with fletchers sylke : and make it rough lyke a welbede. This bayte is good all the somer season. ¶ In May & June take þe hawthorñ worme & the grete redde worme. and nyppe of the heed. And put on your hoke a codworme before. & that is a

good bayte. In Juyll take the redde worme for cheyf & the hawthorñ worm togyder. Also the water docke leyf worme & the hornet worme togyder. ¶ In August & for all the yere take the talowe of a shepe & softe chese : of eche ylyke moche : and a lytyll hony & grynde or stampe theym togyder longe. and tempre it tyll it be tough. And put therto flourè a lytyll & make it on smalle pellettys. And þat is a good bayte to angle wyth at the grounde And loke that it synke in the water. or ellys it is not good to this purpoos.

The carpe is a deyntous fysshe : but there ben but fewe in Englonde. And therfore I wryte the lasse of hym. He is an euyll fysshe to take. For he is soo stronge enarmyd in the mouthe that there maye noo weke harnays holde hym. And as touchynge his baytes I haue but lytyll knowlege of it And me were loth to wryte more than I knowe & haue provyd But well I wote that the redde worme & the menow ben good baytys for hym at all tymes as I haue herde saye of persones credyble & also founde wryten in bokes of credence.

The cheuyn is a stately fysshe & his heed is a deyty morsell. There is noo fysshe soo strongly

enarmyd wyth scalys on the body. And bi cause he is a stronge byter he hathe the more baytes, which ben thyse. ¶ In Marche the redde worme at the grounde : For comynly thenne he woll byte there at all tymes of þe yere yf he be ony thinge hungry. ¶ In Apryll the dyche canker that bredith in the tree. A worme that bredith betwene the rynde & the tree of an oke. The redde worme : and the yonge frosshys whan the fete ben kyt of. Also the stone flye the bobbe vnder the cowe torde : the redde snaylle. ¶ In May þe bayte that bredyth on the osyer leyf & the docke canker togyder vpon your hoke. Also a bayte that bredyth on a ferñ leyf : þe codworme. and a bayte that bredyth on an hawthorn. And a bayte that bredyth on an oke leyf & a sylke worme and a cod worme togyder. ¶ In June take the creket & the dorre & also a red worme : the heed kytte of & a codworme before : and put theym on þe hoke. Also a bayte in the osyer leyf : yonge frosshys the thre fete kitte of by the body : & the fourth by the knee. The bayte on the hawthorn & the codworme togyder & a grubbe that bredyth in a dunghyll : and a grete greshop. ¶ In Juyll the greshop & the humbylbee in the medow. Also yonge bees & yonge hornettes.

Also a grete brended flye that bredith in pathes of medowes & the flye that is amonge pysmeers hyllys. ¶ In August take wortwormes & magotes vnto Myghelmas. ¶ In Septembre the redde worme : & also take the baytes whan ye may gete theym : that is to wyte, Cheryes : yonge myce not heeryd : & the house combe.

The breeme is a noble fysshe & a deyntous. And ye shall angle for hym from Marche vnto August wyth a redde worme : & thenne wyth a butter flye & a grene flye. & with a bayte that bredyth amonge grene rede : and a bayte that bredyth in the barke of a deed tree. ¶ And for bremettis: take maggotes. ¶ And fro that tyme forth all the yere after take the red worme : and in the ryuer browne breede. Moo baytes there ben but they ben not easy & therfore I lete theym passe ouer.

A Tenche is a good fyssh : and heelith all manere of other fysshe that ben hurte yf they maye come to hym. He is the most parte of the yere in the mudde. And he styryth moost in June & July : and in other seasons but lytyll. He is an euyll byter. his baytes ben thyse. For all the yere browne breede tostyde wyth hony in lyknesse of a butteryd loof : and the grete

redde worme. And as for cheyf take the blacke blood in þe herte of a shepe & floure and hony. And tempre theym all togyder somdeale softer than paast : & anoynt therwyth the redde worme: bothe for this fysshe & for other. And they woll byte moche the better therat at all tymes.

¶ The perche is a daynteuous fysshe & passyng holson and a free bytyng. Thise ben his baytes. In Marche the redde worme. In Aprill the bobbe vnder the cowe torde. In May the slothorñ worme & the codworme. In June the bayte that bredith in an olde fallen oke & the grete canker. In Juyll the bayte that bredyth on the osyer leyf & the bobbe that bredeth on the dunghyll : and the hawthorñ worme & the codworme. In August the redde worme & maggotes. All the yere after the red worme as for the beste.

¶ The roche is an easy fysshe to take : And yf he be fatte & pennyd thenne is he good meete. & thyse ben his baytes. In Marche the most redy bayte is the red worme. In Apryll the bobbe vnder the cowe torde. In May the bayte þat bredyth on the oke leyf & the bobbe in the dunghyll. In June the bayte that bredith on the osyer & the codworme. In Juyll hous flies. & the bayte that bredith on an oke. and the

notworme & mathewes & maggotes tyll Myghelmas. And after þat the fatte of bakon.

¶ The dace is a gentyll fysshe to take. & yf it be well refet theñ is it good meete. In Marche his bayte is a redde worme. In Apryll the bobbe vnder the cowe torde. In May the docke canker & the bayte on þe slothorñ & on the oken leyf. In June the codworme & the bayte on the osyer and the whyte grubbe in þe dunghyll. In Juyll take hous flyes & flyes that brede in pysmer hylles : the codworme & maggotes vnto Mighelmas. And yf the water be clere ye shall take fysshe whan other take none And fro that tyme forth doo as ye do for the roche. For comynly theyr bytynge & theyr baytes ben lyke.

¶ The bleke is but a feble fysshe. yet he is holsom His baytes from Marche to Myghelmas be the same that I haue wryten before. For the roche & darse sauynge all the somer season asmoche as ye maye angle for hym wyth an house flye : & in wynter season with bakon & other bayte made as ye hereafter may know. ¶ The ruf is ryght an holsom fysshe : And ye shall angle to him wyth the same baytes in al seasons of the yere & in the same wise as I haue tolde you of the perche : for they ben lyke in fysshe & fedinge, sauynge

the ruf is lesse. And therfore he must haue þe smaller bayte.

¶ The flounder is an holsom fische & a free. and a subtyll byter in his manere : For comynly whan he soukyth his meete he fedyth at grounde. & therfore ye must angle to hym wyth a grounde lyne lyenge. And he hath but one manere of bayte. & that is a red worme. which is moost cheyf for all manere of fysshe. ¶ The gogen is a good fische of the mochenes : & he byteth wel at the grounde. And his baytes for all the yere ben thyse. þe red worme : cod worme : & maggotes. And ye must angle to him with a flote. & lete your bayte be nere þe botom or ellis on þe groūde.

¶ The menow whan he shynith in the water then is he byttyr And though his body be lytyll yet he is a rauenous biter & an egre. And ye shall angle to hym wyth the same baytes that ye doo for the gogyn : sauynge they must be smalle.

¶ The ele is a quasy fysshe a rauenour & a deuourer of the brode of fysshe. And for the pyke also is a deuourer of fysshe I put them bothe behynde all other to angle. For this ele ye shall fynde an hole in the grounde of the water. & it is blewe blackysse there put in your

hoke tyll that it be a fote wythin þe hole. and your bayte shall be a grete angyll twytch or a menow.

¶ The pyke is a good fysshe : but for he deuouryth so many as well of his owne kynde as of other : I loue hym the lesse. & for to take hym ye shall doo thus. Take a codlynge hoke : & take a roche or a fresshe heering & a wyre wyth an hole in the ende : & put it in at the mouth & out at the taylle downe by the ridge of the fresshe heeryng. And thenne put the lyne of your hoke in after. & drawe the hoke in to the cheke of þe fresshe heeryng. Then put a plumbe of lede vpon your lyne a yerde longe from youre hoke & a flote in mydwaye betwene : & caste it in a pytte where the pyke vsyth. And this is the beste & moost surest crafte of takynge the pyke. ¶ A nother manere takyne of hym there is. Take a frosshe & put it on your hoke at the necke bytwene the skynne & the body on þe backe half : & put on a flote a yerde ther fro : & caste it where the pyke hauntyth & ye shall haue hym. ¶ A nother manere. Take the same bayte & put it in *Asa fetida* & cast it in the water wyth a corde & a corke : & ye shall not fayll of hym. And yf ye lyst to haue a good sporte : thenne tye the

corde to a gose fote : & ye shall se god halyng
whether the gose or the pyke shall haue the better.

Now ye wote with what baytes & how ye shall
angle to euery manere fysshe. Now I woll tell
you how ye shall kepe and fede your quycke baytes
Ye shall fede and kepe them all in generall : but
euery manere by hymself wyth suche thyng, in
and on whiche they brede. And as longe as they
ben quycke & newe they ben fyne. But whan
they ben in a slough or elles deed thenne ben they
nought. Oute of thyse ben excepted thre brodes:
That is to wyte of hornettys : humbylbees. &
waspys. whom ye shall bake in breede & after
dyppe theyr heedes in blode & lete them drye.
Also excepte maggotes : whyche whan thei ben
bredde grete wyth theyr naturell fedynge : ye
shall fede theym ferthermore wyth shepes talow
& wyth a cake made of floure & hony. thenne
woll they be more grete. And whan ye haue
clensyd theym wyth sonde in a bagge of blanket
kepte hote vnder your gowne or other warm
thyng two houres or thre. theñ ben they beste
& redy to angle wyth. And of the frosshe kytte
þe legge by the knee. of the grasshop the leggy
& wynges by the body. ¶ Thyse ben baytes
made to laste all the yere. Fyrste been floure &

lene flesshe of the hepis of a cony or of a catte :
virgyn wexe & shepys talowe : and braye theym
in a morter : And thenne tempre it at the fyre
wyth a lytyll puryfied hony : & soo make it vp
in lytyll ballys & bayte therwyth your hokys
after theyr quantyte. & this is a good bayte for
all manere fresshe fysshe.

¶ A nother. take the sewet of a shepe & chese
in lyke quantyte : & braye theim togider longe
in a mortere : And take thenne floure & tempre
it therwyth. and after that alaye it wyth hony
& make ballys therof. and that is for the barbyll
in especyall.

¶ A nother for darse. & roche & bleke. take whete
& sethe it well & thenne put it in blood all a
daye & a nyghte. and it is a good bayte.

¶ For baytes for grete fyssh kepe specyally this
rule. Whan ye haue take a grete fysshe : vndo
the mawe. & what ye finde therin make that your
bayte : for it is beste.

¶ Thyse ben the. xij. flyes wyth whyche ye shall
angle to þe tought & grayllyng, and dubbe lyce
as ye shall now here me tell.

¶ Marche.

The donne flye the body. of the donne woll &
the wyngis of the pertryche. A nother doone

flye. the body of blacke woll : the wynges of the blackyst drake : and the lay vnder the wynges & vnder the tayle.

¶ Apryll.

¶ The stone flye. the body of blacke wull : & yelow vnder the wynges. & vnder the tayle & the wynges of the drake. In the begynnynge of May a good flye. the body of roddy wull and lappid abowte wyth blacke sylke : the wynges of the drake & of the redde capons hakyll.

¶ May.

¶ The yelow flye. the body of yelow wull : the wynges of the redde cocke hakyll & of the drake lyttyd yelow. The blacke louter. the body of blacke wull & lappid abowte wyth the herle of þe pecok tayle : & the wynges of þe redde capon with a blew heed.

¶ Iune. ¶ The donne cutte : the body of blacke wull & a yelow lyste after eyther syde : the wynges of the bosarde bounde on with barkyd hempe. The maure flye. the body of doske wull the wynges of the blackest mayle of the wylde drake. The tandy flye at saynt Wyllyams daye. the body of tandy wull & the wynges contrary eyther ayenst other of the whitest mayle of þe wylde drake.

¶ Iuyll.

¶ The waspe flye. the body of blacke wull & lappid abowte with yelow threde : the wings of

the bosarde. The shell flye at saynt Thomas daye. the body of grene wull & lappyd abowte wyth the herle of the pecoks tayle : wynges of the bosarde.

¶ August. ¶ The drake flye. the body of blacke wull & lappyd abowte wyth blacke sylke: wynges of the mayle of the blacke drake wyth a blacke heed.

¶ Thyse fygures are put here in ensample of your hokes.

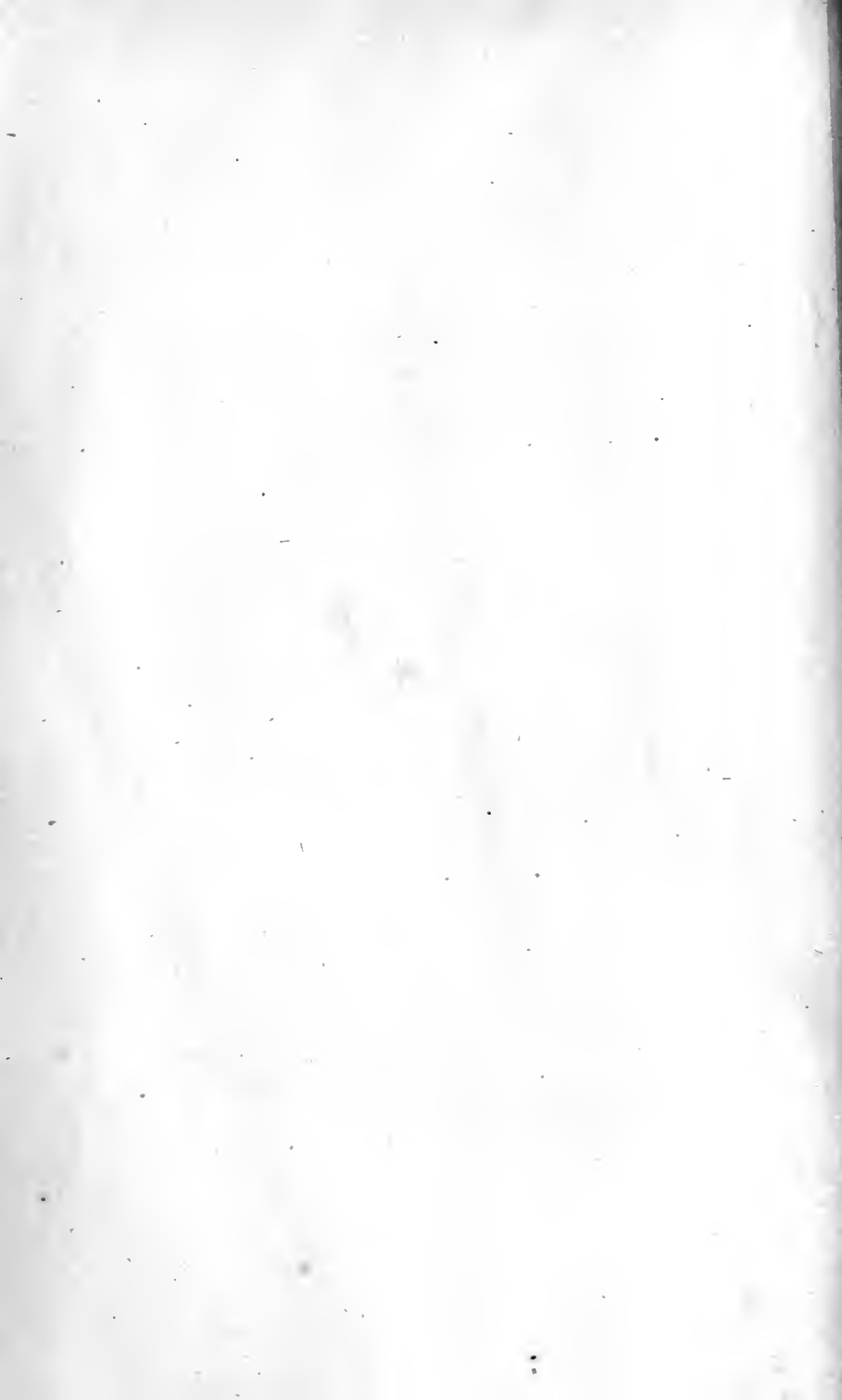
¶ Here folowyth the order made to all those whiche shall haue the vnderstondynge of this forsayde treatyse & vse it for theyr pleasures.

Ye that can angle & take fysshe to your pleasures as this forsayd treatyse techyth & shewyth you : I charge & requyre you in the name of alle noble men that ye fysshe not in noo poore mannes seuerall water : as his ponde : stewe : or other necessary thynges to kepe fysshe in wythout his lycence & good wyll. ¶ Nor that ye vse not to breke noo mannys gynnys lyenge in theyr weares & in other places due vnto theym. Ne to take the fysshe awaye that is taken in theym. For after a fysshe is taken in a mannys gynne yf the gynne be layed in the comyn waters : or elles in suche waters as he hireth, it is his owne propre

goodes. And yf ye take it awaye ye robbe hym :
 whyche is a ryght shainfull dede to ony noble
 man to do *þat* that theuys & brybours done :
 whyche are punysshed for theyr euyll dedes by
 the necke & otherwyse whan they maye be
 aspyed & taken. And also yf ye doo in lyke
 manere as this treatise shewyth you : ye shal
 haue no nede to take of other meñys : whiles
 ye shal haue ynough of yowr owne takyng yf ye
 lyste to labour therfore. whyche shall be to you
 a very pleasure to se the fayr bryght shynyng
 scalyd fysshes dysceyued by your crafty meanes
 and drawen vpon londe. ¶ Also that ye breke noo
 mannys heggys in goynge abowte your dysportes :
 ne opyn noo mannes gates but that ye shytt
 theym agayn. ¶ Also ye shall not vse this for-
 sayd crafty dysporte for no couetysenes to then-
 creasyng & sparyng of your money oonly, but
 pryncypally for your solace & to cause the helthe
 of your body. and specyally of your soule. For
 whanne ye purpoos to goo on your disportes in
 fysshynge ye woll not desyre gretly many persones
 wyth you. whiche myghte lette you of your game.
 And thenne ye maye serue god deuowtly in
 sayenge affectuously youre custumable prayer.
 And thus doynge ye shall eschewe & voyde many

vices. as ydylnes whyche is pryncypall cause to enduce man to many other vyces. as it is ryght well knowen. ¶ Also ye shall not be to rauenous in takyng of your sayd game as to moche at one tyme : whiche ye maye lyghtly doo yf ye doo in euery poynt as this present treatyse shewyth you in euery poynt. whyche sholde lyghtly be occasyon to dystroye your owne dysportes & other mennys also. As whan ye haue a suffycient mese ye sholde coueyte nomore as at that tyme. ¶ Also ye shall besye yourselfe to nouryssh the game in all that ye maye : & to dystroye all suche thynges as ben deuourers of it. ¶ And all those that done after this rule shall haue the blessinge of god & saynt Peter, whyche he theym graunte that wyth his precyous blood vs boughte.

¶ And for by cause that this present treatyse sholde not come to the hondys of eche ydle persone whyche wolde desire it yf it were enpryntyd allone by itself & put in a lytyll plaunflet therfore I haue compyld it in a greter volume of dyuerse bokys concernynge to gentyll & noble men to the entent that the forsayd ydle persones whyche sholde haue but lytyll mesure in the sayd dysporte of fysshynge sholde not by this meane vtterly dystroye it.



GLOSSARY.

Words which are confined to the Denison text have an asterisk attached to the paginal reference.

AFFECTUOUSLY, *adv.* earnestly, 36

A-FRAY, *v.* to frighten, 17

ALAYE, *v.* to soften, 13

ALSO, *conj.* as, 11

ANGRE, *sb.* vexation, 4 (A common sense in M.E.; quite a distinct sense from *anger*, though the word is the same. W.W.S.)

ANGYLL TWYTCH, see Twytch.

ANUELD, *sb.* anvil, 13

ARME-GRETE, *adj.* of the thickness of a man's arm, 7.

Cf. Chaucer, C. T. 1996; *tonne-greet*.

ARMONY, *sb.* harmony, 5

ASSAYED, *v. pt. t.* tried, 14

A-WAILETH, *v. pr. t.* avails, 21

AYENST, *prep.* against.

BARKYD, *p.p.* barked, stained with bark, 34

BATHE, *v.* grovel in the dust. (Said of birds that bask in the hot sand or dusty ground. When the fowler wants his hawk to fly, she goes and basks or grovels. See Chaucer, C. T. 15273. W.W.S.)

BERDE, *sb.* beard, the barb of a hook, 13

BETH, 7, *bethe* 7*, *v.* to heat. *Beke* is used in one instance in the Denison text, and is the same as Scot. *beik*, to warm (distinct from *bake*). (Cf. *beath* in Halliwell, and in Tusser. W.W.S.)

GLOSSARY.

- BEYN, *sb.* a bean, 16*
- BOBBE, *sb.* grub, larva of fly or beetle, 23. See *bob* (4) in Halliwell.
- BOSARDE, *sb.* a buzzard, 34
- BOWE, *sb.* a circuit, 3. "Taketh a bowe," a falconer's term for the random flight of a hawk.
- BRAYE, *v.* to beat, pound.
- BREEME, 27, breme, 15*, *sb.* a bream.
- BREMET, 15, bremettis, 27, *sb.* young bream.
- BRENDED, *adj.* brindled, streaked, 27. Cf. *brandling*, "the angler's dew-worm"; Halliwell.
- BRENNE, *v.* to burn, 7, 24
- BRENNYNG, *adj.* burning, 20
- BREYLED, *adj.* ringed, 24. (From O. F. *braiel*, a girdle, cincture holding up the *braies* (*bracæ*, E. breeks). See Burguy's Glossaire. W.W.S.)
- BROCHE, *sb.* a spit, hence, a piercer, 7
- BRYBOURS, *sb. pl.* robbers, 36
- BRYD, 7*, bryde, 5*, *sb.* a bird. *Byrde* in 1496 text.
- BRYN, *v.* to burn, 7*
- BUB 23*, see Bobbe.
- CANKER, *sb.* a caterpillar and probably also a grub or maggot, 23
- CHEUYN, *sb.* the chub or chevin, 26. Cheven chobe (Denison text, p. 15), and Cheuen chubbe (1496 text) appear to be applied to young fish which may be caught with a line of six hairs, while the "grete cheven" requires one of nine hairs. From F. *chef*.
- CHEYS, *v.* to choose, 1*
- CLYSTES, 12. Prob. an error for *clystes*, clifts; see *clyfte* in line 11 above.
- COCKESHOTECORDE, *sb.* cord of the kind used for making a *cockshut*, or bird net.
- CODWORME, *sb.* cade or caddis worm, (larva of *Phryganidæ*), 23. Also called case-worm, straw-worm, caddew, cod-bait, &c. Particular kinds are known as the piper, cock-spur and ruff-coat.

GLOSSARY.

- COMBOROUS, *adj.* troublesome, 22
 COMYN, *adj.* common, 35
 COPEROSE, 9*; Coporose, 9, *sb.* copperas.
 COSTE, *sb.* side, quarter, 21*
 COTES, *sb. pl.* coots, 5
 COUERT, 19, couerte 19*, *sb.* a covered place, shelter.
 COYL, *v.* to cool, 9*. The 1496 text has *cole* and *kele*.
 CRAY, *sb.* a disease of hawks, 3. See the Book of
 St. Alban's, fol. a 4.
 CREKET, *sb.* the nymph of stone-flies (*Perlidae*), also
 known as the water-cricket, the water-louse and
 the creeper, 26
 CROPPE, *sb.* thin end of a shoot, or top of a rod, 8
 CUMBURS, *adj.* troublesome, 22*
 CUSTUMABLE, *adj.* customary, 36
 CUTTE, *sb.* the name of a fly. The *Donne-Cutte* is
 one of the *Phryganidae*, 34
 DARE, 15*, darse, 15. *sb.* the dace. The 1496 text
 has *dace* in place of *dare*. (*Darse* is the better
 spelling; from O.F. *dars*, a dart. W.W.S.)
 DAYNTEUOUS, *adj.* dainty, 28
 DEDISSHE, *adj.* dead, still (water), 11
 DEFYABUL, 21*, dyffable, 21, *adj.* digestible. *Defier*,
 to digest.
 DEPARTE, *v.* to divide, 8
 DEYNTET, deyntous, *adj.* dainty, 22. *Deyty*, a mis-
 print of *deynty*, occurs on p. 25, (1496 text).
 DISCRYUED, *v. pt. t.* described, 2
 DISPLESOUS, *sb.* displeasure, 3*. (Perhaps a scribal
 error for *displesour*.)
 DISPORT, *see* Dysport.
 DOCKE-CANKER, *sb.* Probably the larva of a beetle.
 DONNE, 34, doone, 33, *adj.* dun.
 DORRE, *sb.* the cockchafer, 26. Still used in Norfolk.
 DORWORME, *sb.* the larva of the cockchafer, 23*
 DUBBE, *sb.* an artificial fly, 16; *dubbe*, verb, to dress
 or prepare an artificial fly, 23; or a line, 8. F.
 adeuber.

GLOSSARY.

DYCHE, *sb.* ditch.

DYFFYABLE, *see* Defyabul.

DYGH, *p.p.* prepared, dressed, stained, 10. A.S. *dihtan*, to array.

DYSCRYVE, *dyscryve*, *v.* to describe, 2

DYSPORT, *sb. and v.* sport.

ENARMYD, armed, fully armed : an intensive form, 15, 25

ERMONY, *sb.* harmony, 5*

EVERYCHE, *adj.* every one, each, 12

EYOURS, *sb.* a brood of swans, 5*. Halliwell has *eyrar* with this meaning.

FALLE, *pp.* fallen, i.e. befallen ; *late falle*=lately befallen, 20

FETE, *adj.* neat, 8, 13

FETELY, *adv.* neatly.

FLETCHER, *sb.* arrow-maker, 24. F. *flèche*, arrow.

FLOUR, *v.* to flourish, 6*

FLOURYNGE, 1, flowryng, 1*, *adj.* flourishing.

FOR, *prep.* against, to prevent, 14, 15

FRAYE, *v.* to frighten, 17

FRETE, 8*, frette, 8, 14, *v.* to bind (with cord, or silk, or metal band).

FRETTE, *sb.* the binding or band, 8. Cotgrave has : "Frete, a verrill, the iron band or hoop that keeps a wooden toole from riving."

FRETYNGE, *sb.* fretting ; *for fretynge*, to prevent fretting or rubbing, 14

FRONSE, 3 ; frounce, 3*, *sb.* a disease of hawks. See Book of St. Alban's, fol. a 4

FROSSHE, 31 ; frosshys, 36, *sb.* frog, frogs.

FULWY, *adj.* foulish, miry, 2*. "All myry" is the phrase in the 1496 text.

GENEPER, *sb.* juniper, 8*

GOGEN, 15 ; gogyn, 15*, *sb.* the gudgeon.

GRASSHOP, 32 ; greshop, 26, *sb.* the grasshopper.

GYNSTON, *sb.* a grindstone. (Error for *grynston*.)

GLOSSARY.

- HAKYLL, *sb.* hackle, 34. The feathers on the neck of a fowl, which have the appearance of being *hackled* or teased out.
- HALYNGE, *sb.* pulling, hauling, 32
- HARNAYS, 6; harnes, 6*; hernes, 17*. *sb.* equipment, gear, tackle.
- HEELE, *sb.* health, 5. A.S. *hđl*, whole; *hđelo*, health.
- HEGGE HOGGE, 2; heyghoge, 2*, *sb.* the hedgehog.
- HEPIS, *sb. pl.* hips, 33
- HERLE, *sb.* harl, a filament, 35. Usually applied by anglers to the filaments of the tail feathers of a peacock or ostrich used for dressing artificial flies.
- HERLESOKE, *sb.* a caterpillar (species uncertain) spinning a web and feeding on the oak.
- HERT, 1*; hertes, 2*; hertys, 2, *sb.* heart, heart's.
- HOLE, *adj.* whole, 5
- HONDYS, *sb. pl.* hands, 37
- HOSE, *sb.* a loop? (Cf. *hawse*, from Icel. *hđls*, neck, also sheet of a sail, end of a rope. W.W.S.)
- HOUSE-COMBE, *sb.* Probably the combe of a vespiary.
- HOYT, *adj.* hot, 16*, 20*. (The *oy* stands for the usual M.E. *oo*, A.S. *đ*. Cf. A.S. *hāt*, M.E. *hoot*, hot. W.W.S.)
- HOWVYNG, *pres. p.* hovering, 19*
- IENYPRE, *sb.* juniper, 8
- INNEBA, *sb.* the river lamprey, (*Petromyzon fluviatilis*).
- KELE, *v.* to cool, 7. A.S. *cēlan*.
- KYTTE, *v.* to cut, 7, 8
- LAPPID, *pp.* wrapped, 34
- LATEN, 8*; laton, 8, *sb.* a mixed metal resembling brass (Skeat).
- LEECH, *sb.* leech, physician, 1
- LET, *v.* to hinder, 16*
- LOUPER, *sb.* leaper, 34
- LYNKET LYNKH=linked or jointed together lengthways, 8*

GLOSSARY.

- LYNKYS, *sb. pl.* links, 12
 LYTE, *sb.* a stripe, 34
 LYTTYD, *pp.* dyed. (From Icel. *lita*, to dye. W.W.S.)
- MAGRE, *sb.* ill-will, 4. F. *mal grè*.
 MAGYF, 4*. Probably a scribal error for *magre* which is used in 1496 text.
- MANNYS, *sb.* man's, 1; *mennys*, men's, 1*
 MATHEWES, *sb. pl.* grubs or maggots, 29. A.S. *mathu*, a maggot.
- MAURE, *sb.* a mulberry-coloured fly, 34. Lat. *morus*. (Cf. F. *meure*, a mulberry; Cotgrave. W.W.S.) Walton, who has adopted this list of flies, calls it the "Moorish fly"—a step into the dark. The "Gentleman angler," 1736 repeats the list with Walton's variations. *Ephemera Danica* is probably the *maure fly* of the text.
- MAYLE, *sb.* mail, 35. Speckled feathers. (The Lat. *macula* became *maille* in O. Fr. W.W.S.)
- MEANE, 6, *see* Meyn.
- MENER, meneys, menew, menow, menowe, *sb.* the minnow.
- MESE, *sb.* mess, ration, 37
- MESURABLE, *adj.* moderate, 1
- MESURABLY, *adv.* moderately, 1*
- MEYN, 6*; menys, 1*, *sb.* way, method. F. *moyen*, O.F. *meien*.
- MIUYNGE, *adj.* close, stifling, 20*. The 1496 text has *swoly*. (Cf. E. *miff*, displeasure; and the curious Low G. *muffen*, to smell musty, in the Bremen Wörterbuch. W.W.S.)
- MOCHENES, *sb.* muchness, i.e. size; *of the mochenes*, for its size.
- MOROW, 19*; morowe, 19, *sb.* morning. A.S. *morgen*.
- MORYSSE, *adj.* belonging to a moor, peaty, 11
- MYLE WAYE. "Boyll halfe a myle waye"—for ten minutes. A mile-way is 20 minutes, at 3 miles an hour. (G. *stund* (hour)=3 miles to this day; common in Switzerland. W.W.S.)

GLOSSARY.

- NALLES, *sb. pl.* awls, 14. (We often find a *nall* for an *all*, i.e. an awl. W.W.S.)
- NEMYLL, 8*; nymbyll, 8, *adj.* nimble.
- NESSE, *sb.* nose, 23. The *nether nesse* (*nether lyp*, Denison text) is the lower jaw of a fish.
- NOWYR, a *nowyr*, *sb.* an hour, 9*
- NOYOUS, 3*; noyouse, 3, *adj.* troublesome.
- OLDE, 10; oldys, 10; ooldys, 9, *sb.* weld, dyer's weed.
See *Welde*.
- ORIENTE, 20*; Oryent, 20, *sb.* East.
- OS, *conj.* as, 16*. (Not very common except in certain MSS. W.W.S.)
- OSE, see Tanner's ose.
- OSMONDE, 6, *sb.* the best Swedish iron. (See a remarkable paper on this word by Mr. Peacock, in the proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries, 2 S. viii. 253. W.W.S.)
- OUTRAGES, *adj.* outrageous, 2*
- OVER, 8; ovir, 8*, *adj.* upper.
- PENNE, *sb.* a quill, 16
- PENNYD, *adj.* (Probably with the fins of full size. W.W.S.)
- PENSIFULNES, *sb.* pensiveness, 2*
- PESE, *sb.* a pea, 16
- PEYSE, *sb.* a weight, 9*. F. *poids*, O.F. *peis*.
- PLAUNFLET, *sb.* a pamphlet, 37
- PLOKE, *sb.* a pluck, pull, 16*
- PLUMBE, plumbes, plumbis, *sb.* lead, leads, 16. *Plumbes* (p. 18*) is the equivalent of *plunges*, used in 1496 text.
- PLUMBID, 16, plomyd, 16*, *adj.* leaded.
- PLUNKET, *sb.* a kind of blue colour, obtained from woad, 10
- POLE, 11; poyl, 18*, *sb.* a pool.
- PRYDE, *sb.* the mud lamprey, (*Ammocaetes branchialis*).
The 1496 text has *Inneba* or *seven-eyes* (the river

GLOSSARY.

lamprey), but the distinction between the two fish had probably not then been recognised, and these three names were no doubt applied indifferently to both.

PYNSONS, *sb.* pincers, 14

QUARELL, *sb.* a square, 13. *Quarell nedlys* were square-headed needles. F. *carré*, square.

QUASY, *adj.* queasy, fastidious, 24, 30

QUENCHE, *v.* to cool, to extinguish the heat, 14

REFET, *adj.* well-fed, plump, 29. See *refaict* in Cotgrave.

REWARD, 3*; *rewarde*, 3, *sb.* a term in falconry, signifying to regard, look, attend to the fowler. *Rewarde*, at p. 19 is a scribal error for *rewar*, a river.

REY, *sb.* a disease of hawks. 3*. *Rye* (in 1496 text) is the usual form. (The form is *ry* in the Book of St. Alban's, fol. a 4. W.W.S.)

ROCHE, *sb.* the roach. The "greyt roche" is the full grown fish; the "wexen" or "waxyng roche" the young growing fish.

RODDYD, *adj.* redded, red, 34

ROFFE, 15*; *ruf*, 29, *sb.* the ruff, (*Acerina vulgaris*).

ROYT, *sb.* root, 23*. See *hoyt*.

RYE, see *Rey*. *Rye* in 1496 text (p. 11) is probably a misprint of *trye*.

SCRYE, *sb.* cry, 5

SCRYUE, *v.* to write, describe. Short for *descryue*.

SEMY-CLAM, *sb.* half-clamp; a sort of vice, 13

SET, *conj.* sed (Latin), 5*. A common form.

SEUERALL, *adj.* peculiar, private, 35

SEVEN-EYES, *sb.* the river lamprey, (*Petromyzon fluviatilis*), 23

SEYR, *adj.* sore, 2*

SHELL-FLY, 35. Perhaps a *sheld-fly*, i.e. spotted, variegated fly. See *sheld* in Halliwell. The shell-fly, Granam or Greentail is one of the *Phryganeidae*, (*Lemnephilus striotus*).

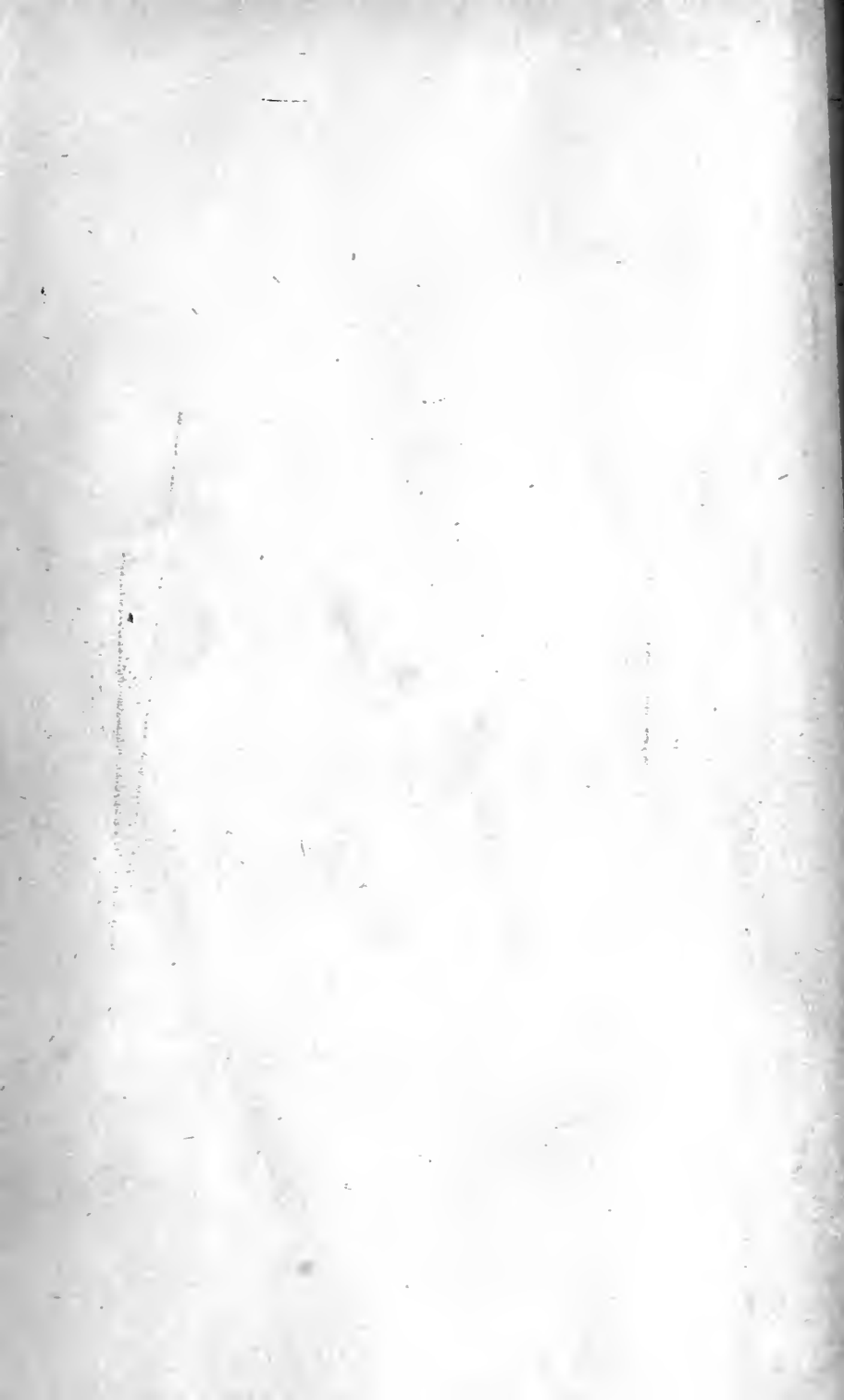
GLOSSARY.

- SITH, *adv.* since, 1*
- SITHEN, *adv.* afterwards, 7*
- SKOME, *sb.* scum, 9*
- SLOUGH, *sb.* the casting of its skin by a caterpillar, 32
- SMYTE, *v.* strike, 18. (A curious use. W.W.S.)
- SOKUL, 22. See *water-sokul*.
- SOUKITH, *v. pr. t.* sucks. A characteristic expression for the act of feeding in many fish.
- STANGE, *sb.* a pool; usually *stank*. F. *étang*, O.F. *estang*.
- STONE-FLY, *Perla bicaudata*.
- SOUCE, 3*; sowse, 3, *sb.* sudden fall, downfall, death. (See Halliwell, who gives the proverb "dead as a fowl at souce," i.e. dead as a bird soused down upon. A term in hawking. W.W.S.)
- SOUERAYN, 22; souerent, 22*, *adj.* sovereign, chief.
- SURBAT, 2*; surbatted, 2, *adj.* foot-sore.
- SWOLY, *adj.* overpowering, sultry, 20. *Swelt*, to faint with heat.
- SYTH, *conj.* since, 1
- TAN, *adv.* then, 7*. Put for *than*.
- TANDY, *adj.* tan-coloured, 34. Called by Walton the "tawny-fly." Probably the Dung-flies, (*Scatophagites*).
- TANNER'S OSE, lit. tanner's ooze or liquor; spelt *ouze* in Halliwell, 11. A.S. *wós*, M.E. *wose*.
- TAPRE WEXE, 7; tapur wyys waxing, 8*, tapering, lit. taper-shape, or taper-wise. *Tapur of wax* in the Denison text, (7*), seems an erroneous gloss.
- THILKE, *adj.* thick, 20*. The same as *thycke*, which is used in the 1496 text. (Some scribes write *lk* for *kk*, to the confusion of editors. Thus *thilke* = *thikke*. W.W.S.)
- THINHE, a scribal error for *thinge*, 17*
- THOUER, the over or upper, 8
- TWYTCH, *sb.* an earth-worm, 31. See *angledog* in Halliwell.
- UNFETTE, *v.* to unbind, 7

GLOSSARY.

- VERTGREES, *sb.* verdigris, 9
 VEJER, *sb.* weather; often applied to *bad* weather or storm.
 VIRELL, 8*; vyrell, 8, *v.* to attach an iron band or ferule. See *Frette*.
 VISE, 8*; vyce, 8, *sb.* a vice.
 VMBRE, *sb.* a grayling.
 WATER-SOKUL, a water-dock, lit. a water-suckle. (*Rumex hydrolapathum*.)
 WATH, *pron.* what, 6*
 WAXEN, *sb.* greenweed, (*Genista tinctoria*), 9*
 WAXYNG, *pr. p.* growing, 15
 WEDER, 3; wedyr, 6; wedur, 6*; wetur, 20*, *sb.* weather. A.S. *weder*, weather, often a storm.
 WEERES, *sb. pl.* weirs, 25
 WEETE-SHODE, 3; wetschode, 3*, wet-shod, with boots wet through. "Weete shode vnto his taylle" is an expression not yet passed out of use.
 WELBEDE, *sb.* a woodlouse, sometimes also called a milleped. *Welbode* in Halliwell.
 WELDE, *sb.* weld, dyer's weed, (*Reseda luteola*).
 WENYT, 2*; wenyth, 2, *v. pr. t.* supposes. A.S. *wēnan*.
 WERLY-WHERLY, *adj.* like a whirlpool, full of eddies.
 WEXEN, *pr. p.* growing, 15*
 WEYTH, *adj.* wet, 4*
 WOODE, *sb.* woad, (*Isatis tinctoria*), 10
 WOODEFATTE, *sb.* woad-vat.
 WORDLY, *adj.* worldly, 6*
 WORTWORMES, *sb.* lit. worms on vegetables, 27
 WYXEN, 9; wyxin, 10, *sb.* greenweed. *Genista tinctoria*. See *Waxen*.
 WYGT, *sb.* white, 8*
 YE, *sb.* eye, 7*
 YLYKE, *adj.* like, 12
 ZELO, *zelow, sb.* yellow, 9*
 ZELY, *adj.* blessed, happy. A.S. *sælig*, lucky. An error for *sely*.





PE Morris, Richard
1712 On the survival of early
M67 English words in our present
dialects

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